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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 21, 1 November 1980



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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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OUR LIVES ARE FULL OF SUNSHINE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 inside front cover

[Colored woodcut by Ba Chongwen [1572 1813 2429] (Mongolian) and Xing Anfu [6717 1344 1133]]



CSO: 4004

EMANCIPATE THE MIND, PROMOTE REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 2-4

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party congress, every step we have taken in our advance and every victory we have gained has always been preceded by the emancipation of the mind. Can we now say that we have adequately emancipated our minds? Of course not. History is constantly advancing; conditions are constantly changing, and new tasks are constantly being placed upon us. In this sense, the emancipation of the mind is an infinite process. The reform of the leadership system of the party and the state is a new task confronting us. This task again places new demands on us in terms of emancipation of the mind.

Historical experience and present conditions both indicate the importance and urgency of the reform of the leadership system of the party and the state. Logically speaking, the socialist system is the most superior social system in human history. It ought to bring great happiness to the people. Yet in our country, because the superiority of the socialist system has not been fully realized, the people are not leading an affluent life. That is an evident fact. If we go by old conventions, maintain the status quo and refuse to introduce reforms, there will be no way for the socialist cause to advance smoothly. It is only through reforms that we can constantly improve the institutions of our party and state, mobilize all positive factors and achieve the great cause of the four modernizations. The reform of the leadership structure is an important matter bearing on the fate and future of the party and the country. A great majority of our people are in favor of this reform, yet there are also some people who cannot fully understand its significance and who resent it. Due to the influence of the erroneous line in the past years, "leftist" ideas have become a force of habit for some people. These ideas seriously restrict their minds and stifle their thinking. In abstract discussion, they might reluctantly agree to reforms. Yet when it comes to real action to institute reforms, they go into a tantrum, claiming that this cannot be changed or that cannot be changed, or even warning that "there is no way you can do it." We must fully realize that there are still considerable ideological obstacles to the process of reform.

Judging from the present situation, those who fail to understand the rationale for reforms and who resent them are mainly those whose minds are ossified and those who lack a profound understanding of the new situation and new problems. These are two different sets of circumstances.

The first type of people are those who not only completely fail to understand the actual conditions but also refuse to go down to the masses to heed their opinions. They feel shocked by the word "reform" and are alarmed as soon as they hear the word. For example, we demand that the leadership group's average age be lowered and that it be professionalized. We want a large number of leading cadres who are old and weak to recede to the second line, resign or retire. This is actually required by the objective conditions. However, some people look at this as singling out the veteran cadres for attack and making life difficult for the veteran cadres. They just refuse to see the present condition of our contingent of cadres. In many localities the number of leaders in a unit or department is enough to form a "squad," while in some units leaders can even form a "platoon." Moreover, some of the cadres are very old. They are weak and sickly and lacking in energy. They are occupying certain positions without being able to perform any function. They just refuse to face the fact that this situation has caused our organs to be ineffective and lowered the efficiency of our work, thus making them incapable of meeting the requirements for the building of the four modernizations. How can we go on without changing this situation? When we ask some veteran cadres to recede to the second line, we are asking them to be advisers to middle-aged and young cadres, thereby enabling them to play their role better; and when we arrange for those veteran cadres who cannot keep pace with normal work to retire and rest, we are making it possible for them to continue to enjoy political prestige, live a well-off life and enjoy their remaining years. How can anyone consider this making life difficult for the veteran cadres?

The second type of people cannot bear to part with old experiences and old methods. They lack a feeling for newborn things, are obsessed with things of the past and adopt old methods as a matter of habit. For example, for a period of time after liberation we did a good job of separating the party from the government. After the slogan of "centralized power" was pronounced, separation of party and government was changed into the party committee's monopoly of power under the guiding thought of strengthening the centralized leadership of the party. Thus, the party committee takes charge of even the minutest matter and is plunged into routine daily affairs, losing track of its most important task—"the party's self-management." When the task of rectifying this shortcoming and implementing the separation of party and government was put forward, some people thought that this amounted to doing away with the leadership of the party. Little did they realize that the separation of party and government not only enables administrative leaders to have power and responsibility and the working departments to play their role, but also enables party workers to concentrate their energy on studying and implementing the party's line, principles and policies and strengthening their education of party members and supervision over administration. This is precisely strengthening, not weakening, the party's leadership.

Nostalgic people also show their bias by their special feelings for the 17 years preceding the "Great Cultural Revolution." In their eyes, all the work done in those 17 years was perfect. Therefore, some people believe that if we change to the methods of those 17 years, everything will be all right, and if we do anything in excess of what was done in the 17 years, then it is tantamount to "heresy." Surely we did achieve much in the work we did in the 17 years preceding the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, after 1957 our party committed grave errors on many questions. "It takes more than one cold day for the river to

freeze 3 feet deep." The "Great Cultural Revolution" was not a sudden occurrence. If we look at the great catastrophe in those 10 years, we will notice that many errors had already germinated before the "Great Cultural Revolution." A qualitative leap only happens after a gradual quantitative accumulation. The "Great Cultural Revolution," a grave overall error which brought about great disaster to the people, was only the continuation and development of 17 years of errors. Based on this situation, the party Central Committee has formulated a series of new policies since the third plenary session of the Central Committee. They are totally new policies which differ from those implemented both during and after the "Great Cultural Revolution." If we are content with merely liberating our minds from the 10 years of catastrophe, yet dare not liberate ourselves from the errors of the preceding 17 years, our minds will still be ossified. This proves one thing: the emancipation of the mind cannot be completed at one attempt. When our minds have been emancipated on one question, we can still be conservative on another; when we have been emancipated during a certain period of time, we can still be conservative at another time. Therefore, if we really want to be promoters of reform, we must continuously emancipate our minds and adapt our minds to the changing conditions.

Without the emancipation of the mind, it will be impossible to discover the faults of the leadership system of our party and state. For a long time, although we have admitted that there are shortcomings in certain links of the state system, we have only conceded that they have nothing to do with leadership organs of the party; or we have only conceded that specific rules and systems have defects but that the political system as a whole is faultless. This has brought about a misconception: it seems that our system of political management is already perfect and no improvements can be made. The truth is exactly the opposite. Our socialist society did not just drop from the sky. It emerged from the womb of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Although we have undergone a democratic revolution and have completed the task of democratic revolution in politics and the economy, the attention we paid to the criticism of feudal autocracy in the ideological realm has been insufficient. Due to the fact that our country has a history of more than 2,000 years of feudal rule and that the feudal ideology and system were relatively well developed, these have influenced our party. Particularly because the majority of our cadres are of small producer origin, they are heavily stamped with the mark of feudal thinking. In addition, for many years we have been propagandizing and implementing things which are feudal in nature as socialist thinking. We have totally muddled up the theoretical delineations. Therefore, the defects in our system of political management result mainly from the influence of feudal autocratic thinking and not capitalism. Such practices as the concentration of power in the hands of one person, bureaucratism, the patriarchal system, the system that only one person has the say, life tenure of cadres in leadership positions, the concept of clan and rank and various kinds of privileges are feudal burdens that have been inherited from thousands of years ago. Therefore, one important aspect in the present efforts at emancipation of the mind is to strive to liberate ourselves from the influence of feudal autocratic thinking. Some people think that by thus saying we will slacken our attention to overcoming bourgeois thinking. This is, of course, a misconception. What we are talking about here is the question of which ideology has influenced our system of political management. As to what nonproletarian ideological influence to overcome in the realm of consciousness, this will differ according

to the person, area and department in question. Some must take the elimination of remnant feudal thinking as the main task; some must take criticism of the influence of bourgeois thinking as the main task, while some must deal mainly with overcoming the small producer mentality. In short, we must adopt a scientific attitude and conduct concrete analysis. We must not do things at one stroke.

The present reforms that we are enforcing in the political system constitute an arduous task. The situation is complex, and a great many aspects are involved. We are encountering both the difficulties created by the 10 years of catastrophe and defects created by history. We really have a whole heap of problems. Some people picturesquely describe the existing problems as a basket of crabs, each one holding up another, each one influencing another. This is very appropriate. When dealing with problems we cannot be too harsh or too lenient; we cannot be too hasty or too slow. We must solve these problems practically in a planned and measured manner. The most important method is investigation and study. Without investigation and study we cannot talk of emancipation of the mind and initiating reforms. Study and investigation not only pertains to conducting in-depth analysis of existing problems but also includes the exploration of plans for reforms. We must allow the expression of different views and conduct various kinds of experiments. By comparing various plans we can choose the best to implement.

For the last 30 years we have been experimenting with socialism. We have accumulated much experience, both positive and negative. However, on the whole we are lacking in experience. We must seriously sum up past experience in accordance with reality and humbly study the advanced experiences of other countries. On the basis of summing up experiences, we must seriously understand the new conditions, meticulously analyze new problems and resolve new contradictions in a down-to-earth manner in order to constantly improve the socialist system in our country. Therefore, we can also say that the emancipation of the mind means constant study and investigation, summing up of experience and lessons and gaining new knowledge about new conditions and new problems.

Discussion that is not based on investigation and study will only be irresponsible talk or even rumormongering. The reason why some people commit errors, aside from factors traceable to their personal character, is that in most cases the problem lies in their consciousness; that is, their subjective consciousness is divorced from the objective world, and their thinking does not conform to objective reality. We must conduct investigation and study on all matters, go down to the masses and consult them. Thus, we can minimize or eliminate errors of subjectivism, one-sidedness and superciliousness. However, many comrades are just used to planning and signing documents in their offices. Their feet just refuse to get motivated. Not only are they unfamiliar with the newly emerging changes, conditions and problems in the areas or departments under their jurisdiction, but they also forbid other people to conduct investigations and expose contradictions in their areas or departments. Once someone exposes problems existing in their units, they feel very uncomfortable, as if that someone is pulling the scab right off their sores, and they proceed to spread an atmosphere of dissatisfaction or even engage in suppression and attack. Obviously, that is out-and-out bureaucratism and despotism. Let us consider for a while: Can such people do their job well? Can we depend on these people to introduce reforms?

Comrade Mao Zedong once called upon our leading cadres to go down to the masses for investigation several times each year. This is very important. We are now at a critical moment of historical change. To make our thinking adapt to the development of the situation, we must have a firm grasp of reality and a thorough understanding of the prevailing conditions. We ardently hope that leading comrades at all levels will bear the present and the future in mind, devote more energy to seriously conducting investigation and study, further emancipate their minds, promote reforms and give impetus to the healthy growth of the reform of the leadership system of the party and the state.

CSO: 4004

IT IS IMPERMISSIBLE TO REPLACE THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 5-8

[Article by Jing Dong [0079 2739]]

[Text] From the experiences and lessons of past years, especially the 10 years of turmoil, we realize that, in order to avoid the overconcentration of power and too many concurrent duties and to insure that party committees at all levels can concentrate their energies on important party affairs and that all levels of government can exercise their authority as state administrative organs, we must not lump together party and government work or substitute the party for the government. Today some of the principal leading persons of the party Central Committee no longer hold leading posts in the State Council. In general, the number one men of various provincial, municipal, autonomous region, prefectural and even county party committees also do not concurrently hold government posts. No doubt this is beneficial to strengthening party leadership, establishing a perfect and efficient system of work for government at all levels and changing the practice of substituting the party for the government. This is an important policy decision for reforming the party and state leadership system.

Ours is the ruling party, the only ruling party. The constitution of our country clearly stipulates: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China." The concept that our party must exercise leadership over the state has long been engraved on the minds of the people of the whole country. In order to accomplish the general task of the four modernizations in the new historical period, we must uphold the four basic principles—the core of which is party leadership. The party's leadership over the state must be consolidated and strengthened; it must never be weakened. Any idea or practice of weakening party leadership is exceedingly wrong and must be resolutely opposed.

The question is: How should our ruling party exercise its rule and improve its leadership? Although we have kept party and government setups separate from the top down since our party took over the helm of the state, the problem of substituting the party for the government has always existed to a greater or lesser extent. In the early 1950's it was said that we must "centralize power on major issues and decentralize power on minor issues" in order to combat decentralism. Later this became one of the principles of party leadership. In practice the following state of affairs developed: All power was centralized in the hands of

the party committees. The party committees took everything upon themselves. Everything had to be decided by the party committees, and the people's governments at various levels were unable to fully exercise their authority. During the 10-year turmoil this problem became even more pronounced. In order to usurp party and state power, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques first "kicked aside the party committees to make revolution," wiped out the party committees at all levels, did away with party leadership and paralyzed the party organizations. After wielding considerable power, they wanted to build a world of the "gang of four" and exercise feudal fascist dictatorship. Thus, they substituted the gang for the party and vainly attempted to grab hold of all power in the name of strengthening centralized party leadership. They defied the party's leader. Party committees at all levels, particularly the first secretaries, also unwarrantedly grabbed too much power. For some time the party and the government became integrated, with party and government affairs being handled by the same group of persons and the same setup. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the situation underwent a great change. Party and government powers which had been usurped by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were put back in the hands of the party and the people. The battered party and administrative organs were restored and suitable leadership changes made in party and administrative units at various levels. On the whole, the party and the government each has its own organizational and personnel structures. In actual work, however, the problem of substituting the party for the government is still quite common and serious. Party committees running things on behalf of the government is still a common practice. Many things which are within the functions and powers of the government have to be approved and handled by the party committee secretaries. It is like this not only in party-government relations but also in specific business departments, enterprises and establishments. This situation must be changed.

Substituting the party for the government has many drawbacks. First, it is not conducive to the strengthening of the party's work and leadership. Because of the heavy tasks shouldered by the party, party building should be strengthened. However, due to the fact that the party committees are bogged down in administrative work and routine matters, the work of the party is not put in its rightful place on the agenda. At present, quite a few problems exist in the work of the party. For example, in some localities and units the party's political, ideological and organizational lines are not effectively carried out; the activities of the party organizations are unsound; ideological work is weak; the party's work style is unhealthy; the role of the party organizations as a fighting bastion and the exemplary role of party members are not properly developed, and so on. The causes may be numerous, but they are inseparably linked with the long-standing practice of the party not minding its own affairs. Second, it is not conducive to administrative departments exercising their own functions and powers and giving full play to the enthusiasm of the administrative personnel. Because the party committees are taking administrative work into their own hands and directly meddling in administrative affairs, the administrative departments cannot properly exercise their functions and powers. Although many administrative personnel are fairly familiar with the situation and are well versed in the profession, what they say usually does not count. Third, the overconcentration of power will easily lead to the patriarchal system and bureaucratism. If all powers are inappropriately and indiscriminately put in the hands of the party committees and the party

secretaries, especially the first secretaries, the situation in which a handful of an individual decides everything is bound to arise. Even if the leading persons of the party committees are democratic in work style and will listen to others, they cannot tackle everything well, because they have too much on their hands and because their knowledge, ability and energy is limited.

Our party is the governing party, but it cannot take the place of the government. Our country is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The workers, peasants and intellectuals and all patriotic personages who support socialism are the masters of the country. They manage affairs of the state through organs of state power--the people's congresses. The people's governments at various levels are executive bodies of the organs of state power. Their authority can only be exercised by government workers elected by people's congresses at various levels. The masses can effectively exercise supervision over the people's governments at various levels through people's congresses of corresponding levels. This is our country's basic system of letting the people run affairs of the state. Although our party is the ruling party, we cannot just leave the party committees to exercise the power of state administrative organs. Instead, party members who have been elected to state organs must work hand in hand with nonparty persons to carry out the party's line, principles and policies and do government work well. Moreover, our party is the vanguard of the working class. It only forms a small portion of the working class, which in turn only forms a small portion of the whole people. Our party has more than 38 million members, but this is not much compared with the population of the whole country. Our socialist cause is the undertaking of the masses. It must rely on the masses and give full play to their enthusiasm. If the party were to take the place of the government, then the people's congresses, the standing committees of the people's congresses and the people's governments would all become ornaments existing in name only, and letting the masses become masters of the country and run affairs of the state would be out of the question. If the practice of substituting the party for the government is not changed, perfecting and improving the political system of people's democracy in our country will be just so much idle talk, and our party will be divorced from the masses. This is very dangerous.

Some people ask: If the party represents the interests of the masses, why can't the party committees exercise administrative power on behalf of the masses? This question is not difficult to answer. It is true that our party's program, line, principles and policies represent the interests of the masses, but this does not mean that the party can take everything into its own hands. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "A basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is to enable the masses to know their own interests and unite to fight for their own interests." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1261) Affairs of the people should be handled by the people themselves. The party only sets the example and leads the way. It is the propagandist and the organizer. The party's program, line, principle and policies must be repeatedly publicized to the masses so that they can be correctly understood, accepted and translated into action. It is the fine tradition of our party to spread propaganda among the masses and get the masses organized. Our party was without power at first. By publicizing its positions to the masses, it won the wholehearted support of the masses. The masses willingly and gladly followed the party to carry out the most arduous struggle and won victory in the

revolution. Our party must never discard this tradition now that it is in a ruling position. Every proposition of the party must be based on the opinions of the masses and thoroughly publicized to the masses in order to get their support. Sometimes things have to be written down in the form of law by organs of state power, thus becoming the will of the country, and then carried out by the state administrative organs. No matter how good our party's propositions are, if they are not accepted by the masses as their own business, we will get nowhere forcing them through. Moreover, our party's propositions are not always correct. They have to be examined by the masses. If the party committees take everything into their own hands and have the final say, it means that they do not have faith in the masses and do not believe themselves capable of persuading and mobilizing the masses. This is bound to lead to trouble. Actually we have already encountered quite a lot of trouble and wasted a lot of time. We have had enough of this and should not do it any more.

Some people think that since, "of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, study, the army, the government and the party—it is the party that exercises overall leadership," the party must take care of everything or it will not be able to make its leadership felt. This view is wrong. It is in terms of political leadership that we say the party exercises overall leadership. To exercise leadership in every field of work, primarily political leadership, the party must have a correct theory, put its line, principles and policies on the right track, be loyal to the working class and the whole people, maintain close ties with the masses and have the determination and ability to make the masses believe that it is correct. The party members and cadres must take the lead and set an example. The party committees should not directly engage in specific administrative and vocational work. The party should exercise overall leadership, but it should not take everything into its own hands. Letting the party take everything into its own hands does not mean strengthening party leadership. Numerous facts show that if things which should be grasped by the party committees are not given proper attention or are completely ignored, whereas things which should be handled by administrative departments are left to the party committees—so that everything is decided by the party committees, the secretaries are in charge of all work and the party committees become bogged down in daily administrative chores—party leadership will be weakened rather than strengthened. The party must play the leading role in every field of work, but it must not grasp specific administrative work. The party may appear to be in charge of a lot of things and to have great power in its hands if it grasps specific administrative work, but it is only detracting from its position. In this sense, substituting the party for the government actually means substituting the government for the party, that is, replacing party leadership with the grasping of specific administrative work.

What should the party committees do if they do not directly take part in administrative work? In a word, the party should take care of its own business—the line, principles and policies. During the 10-year turmoil our party was badly ravaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." How to eliminate the influence of the ultraleftist line ideologically and organizationally and build our party well is an important issue which has a direct bearing on the success or failure of the modernization program and on the destiny and future of the state. At present, the tasks shouldered by our party are very heavy. For example, many new circumstances

and questions in the four modernizations have to be studied; the work of spotting, training and promoting middle-aged and young cadres must be grasped firmly and well; the rectification of party organizations and education of party members urgently demand attention; bureaucracy must be resolutely overcome, and the unhealthy practices in the party's work style must be rectified as quickly as possible; and so on. Only when these tasks are attended to and successfully accomplished can our party restore and raise its prestige among the people of the whole country and give full play to its leading role. Some comrades think: Now that there are no more political movements, the party committees will have nothing to do if they do not take charge of administrative work. These comrades get so used to substituting the party for the government that they forget the work of the party. They hold leading posts in the party, but they only busy themselves with administrative affairs and do not grasp the work of the party. What we must do now is to make the party committees disentangle themselves from administrative affairs and concentrate their energies on party affairs. Of course, this does not mean that the party committees should wash their hands of administrative work. Major policies still demand their attention. They must not only look into questions involving major policies but must grasp them earnestly and well. It is particularly important that they go deep into the realities of life, make investigation and study, find out how the party's line, principle and policies are carried out and promptly solve major problems in this regard. At the same time, the party committees at all levels must also examine the work of the government's leading party groups and the work of party organizations in the government bodies. They must give full play to the role of the government's leading party groups, the role of fighting bastions of party organizations in government bodies, as well as the exemplary vanguard role of party members. Only by doing a good job of these party tasks and through the concerted efforts of the party organizations and party members of administrative departments and comrades outside the party can we do our administrative work well. If the party takes care of its own business and the government also has power in its hands, we will be able to achieve great successes in our work.

Party committees taking everything into their own hands has in fact become a system of leadership. This practice is not easy to change. It requires the concerted efforts of people at the higher and lower levels and of the party and the government. To begin with, leading departments at the higher levels must pay attention to this matter. As long as those at the higher levels draw a clear line of demarcation between party and government affairs, it is easy to make the lower levels do the same. If those at the higher levels make no distinction between party and government affairs and assign work all in one package, party and government affairs at the lower levels will be jumbled together. As far as the party and the government are concerned, the important thing is that the party committees must let go and must not take everything upon themselves. The party committees at all levels may issue orders to the party members, cadres and masses, but they should not do so when it comes to matters within the jurisdiction of the administrative personnel. Corresponding changes should also be made in the method of conducting meetings. Meetings involving administrative matters should be conducted by administrative departments. Not all meetings have to be convened by the party committees and attended by the responsible persons of party committees. No doubt, administrative work should be conducted under the unified leadership of the party committees. However, the administrative departments must shoulder

their own responsibilities and must not leave everything to the party committees. They should independently and conscientiously carry out work which is within their jurisdiction. There is no need to ask the party committees for instructions all the time or invite party secretaries to attend every meeting and give speeches. Due to the long-standing problem of substituting the party for the government, people tend to think that if the secretary does not put in an appearance it means that there is no leadership from the party, or that the party committee does not attach importance to the matter.

Our party has been at the helm for more than 30 years. It has accumulated a good deal of experience in the handling of party-government relations. Based on the Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, we must sum up our experiences and lessons with the spirit of seeking truth from facts. This is essential for improving and strengthening party leadership, giving full play to the functions and powers of state administrative organs and speeding up socialist modernization. Lenin pointed out as early as 1922: "It is necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation between the functions and powers of the party (and its Central Committee) and the Soviet Government and to boost the sense of responsibility and initiative of the functionaries of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet organs. The task of the party is to exercise overall leadership over the work of all state organs rather than to interfere with their work too frequently and on an irregular basis, often over minor details, as is now the case." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 221) After more than 30 years of practice, we now have an intimate knowledge of this matter. We all feel that it will not do to substitute the party for the government and that immediate steps should be taken to rectify this practice. Of course, this has to be done in a systematic and planned way, and some problems still require careful consideration. We must emancipate our minds and free ourselves from old conventions, old habits and old methods.

CSO: 4004

ON THE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE OF SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 9-13, 19

[Article by Jiang Yiwei [5592 0001 5517]]

[Text] Editor's Note: Reforming the leadership structure of enterprises is an important component of the reform of the economic management structure. Comrade Jiang Yiwei's article advances some views and problems in this respect for our study and discussion.

Reform of the Economic Management Structure Must Be Carried Out Together With Reform of the Leadership Structure Within Enterprises

Reform of the economic management structure is an important content of China's present economic reform. What this reform mainly refers to is how to change the form and method of leadership of state organizations over national economic activities of the whole country based on objective economic laws. The practice and theoretical exploration of the last 2 years have demonstrated that the key to this reform lies in the correct handling of the relations between the state and the basic economic units. We must proceed from the establishment and expansion of the decisionmaking power of enterprises. The reason for this is quite simple: as the socialist economy is still a commodity economy, socialist enterprises inevitably must also possess the general characteristics of commodity producers. They are the basic units of the national economy, as well as the basic units directly engaged in production and circulation activities. They must possess relative independence and be able to develop independently on their own initiative under the unified leadership of the socialist state and must also possess independent economic interests. Only thus can each enterprise become a dynamic organism, give full play to its positive enthusiasm and develop into a powerful force of the national economy.

Socialism is incomparably superior to capitalism in that it practices public ownership and puts an end to the phenomenon of the exploitation of man by man. The working people become the masters of production, work for their own interests and can therefore bring their great enthusiasm and creativity into play. The basic feature of the socialist economy is the implementation of the principle of socialist democracy in the economic sphere. Giving play to the ability of an enterprise to maintain its independence and keep the initiative in its own hands under the unified leadership of the state is precisely the concrete embodiment of

socialist economic democracy. However, the initiative of an enterprise in the final analysis still derives from the initiative of the working people. Therefore, merely expressing the principle of socialist economic democracy as the ability of an enterprise to maintain its independence and keep the initiative in its own hands is not enough. It must at the same time embody the ability of an enterprise to genuinely practice democratic management and enable the working people to actually run their own affairs before the boundless wisdom and creativeness inherent in the people can burst forth.

The thinking of Marx and Engels on the integrated body of free and equal producers should become the theoretical basis for the socialist economic management structure we are building. Marx pointed out: "The nationwide concentration of means of production will become the national basis of society composed of integrated bodies of free and equal producers, and these producers will consciously engage in social labor in accordance with their common and rational plan. This is the humane goal of the great economic movement of the 19th century." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 454) Engels said: "By far the most important decree of the Commune instituted an organization of large-scale industry and even manufacturing which was not only to be based on the association of the workers in each factory, but also to combine all these associations in one great union; in short, an organization which, as Marx quite rightly says in 'The Civil War,' must necessarily lead in the end to communism." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 333-334)

According to the aforementioned concept of Marx and Engels of economic organization under public ownership, the two main points are: One, each enterprise should be an integrated body of free and equal producers. In other words, an enterprise should be democratically managed by its production workers. Two, the whole national economy should be a great union composed of many equal, independent, integrated bodies. The combination of these two levels embodies the high degree of democracy manifested in the socialist economy after the implementation of public ownership.

The reform of the present structure in China, which has established as the point of departure the giving of greater decisionmaking power to enterprises, recognized the relative independence of enterprises and promoted the voluntary association of enterprises, is essentially a development of the aforementioned concept of the "great union." With the decisionmaking power of enterprises firmly entrenched, what follows is the inevitable solution of the problem of who will exercise and how to exercise this power. This will involve the leadership structure within each enterprise. No doubt the principle of socialist democracy must also be implemented in each enterprise, so that it can become an integrated body of free and equal producers before it can combine internally and externally to form a comprehensive management system which embodies socialist economic democracy.

The Present Leadership Structure of the Enterprise Cannot Adapt to the Demand for Reform

The leadership structure of an enterprise is the basic unit of social economy. Take a production enterprise, for example. It not only directly develops

productive forces but also directly gives expression to certain production relations. The leadership structure of an enterprise is the core of that enterprise's organization. It must, on the one hand, cater to the objective demand of organizing productive forces and socialized large-scale production, and on the other hand it must also play the role of safeguarding certain social production relations.

Historical experience has shown that to carry out effective management in a modern enterprise the leadership structure of enterprises can roughly be divided into three functions and powers—the policymaking power, the order-giving power and the supervisory power. The policymaking power is the power to make decisions regarding the orientation, policies and certain important measures of production management of the enterprise. The order-giving power is to provide administrative guidance in the production management of the enterprise based on the policy decisions already determined. The supervisory power is to carry out all-round supervision of the policymakers and order givers of the enterprise in order to safeguard the rights and interests of the owners of the enterprise. These three powers not only must stand apart but must also condition each other before the rights and interests of the owners of the enterprise can be protected and the efficient management required by the enterprise can be guaranteed at the same time.

In capitalist enterprises these three powers are in the hands of the capitalists and their agents. The policymaking power and supervisory power are generally exercised by a board of directors composed of representatives of the capitalists (shareholders), or the policymaking power is exercised by a board of directors, the supervisory power is exercised by a supervisory committee set up for that purpose and the order-giving power is exercised by the manager appointed by the board of directors or the supervisory committee.

The leadership structure of socialist enterprises still can and also must make distinctions between policymaking power, order-giving power and supervisory power. The only difference is that all of these three powers belong to the working people.

What the leadership structure in our country practices at present is the responsibility system of factory director and the system of workers congresses under the leadership of the party committee. Regardless of the problem in actual practice, from the point of view of an analysis of the structure itself the three powers still stand apart. The policymaking power is exercised by the party committee of the enterprise, the order-giving power is exercised by the factory director (or manager), and the supervisory power is exercised by the workers congress. Experiences over the years have proved that there are many contradictions in the implementation of this structure, and judging from the orientation of the reform in the future there will be even more problems.

First, an enterprise is an economic organization and the party committee is a political organization, and the organizational systems of the two are different in character. Socialist economic construction should be led by the political party of the proletariat. This is an unshakable principle. However, party leadership does not necessarily mean that we must adopt the form of administrative

leadership to bring it about. Experiences over the years have proved that, as a result of the party organization becoming the supreme policymaking organ of the enterprise, many defects have appeared. In some enterprises, all matters large and small must be decided by the party committee, the unified command role of the factory director (or manager) is weakened and the efficient management needed by modern enterprises is affected. The party committee frequently replaces scientific management with political movement and obstructs improvement in the management level of enterprises. At the same time, because the party committee is stuck with administrative affairs, it can no longer attend to the business of the party, and in fact the leadership role of the party in politics is instead weakened.

Proceeding from the country as a whole, the leadership of the party over economic work is manifested mainly in the formulation of the line and important policies and principles, but the concrete implementation of the line, policies and principles of the party must be carried out by means of the state administrative system. Reform of the structure in the future must recognize the relative independence of enterprises under the unified leadership of the state, and in the management of enterprises the state must also mainly employ the method of economic means and reduce the method of administrative means to direct enterprises. Under this condition, how can the party committee directly manage the enterprise from within? The 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee called for the conscientious solution of the phenomenon which makes no distinction among the party, the government and the enterprise and which replaces the government with the party and the enterprise with the government. This is a correct and important policy decision for overcoming the defects in the structure of our country. If the policymaking power of an enterprise is still exercised by the party committee and the party committee is in fact part of the head of the economic organization of the enterprise, then this kind of organizational composition will determine that the phenomenon which makes no distinction between the government and the enterprise cannot be overcome.

Second, a major defect in the existing economic management structure is the direct management of enterprises by the state and the fact that enterprises become a branch of the state administrative organization. As this type of organizational system runs somewhat parallel to the organizational system of the party, it is organizationally convenient for the basic-level party organization to assume direct leadership over the enterprises, as they are basic-level economic units of the state. The reform of the structure in the future will be to firmly establish the decisionmaking power of each enterprise. Each enterprise should have relative independence under the unified leadership of the state economic policy, economic legislature and economic planning and should no longer be a branch of the state administrative system. Under this plan, the party committee of an enterprise as the head organization of a relatively independent enterprise is definitely inappropriate.

As an economic organization, an enterprise must base its activities on objective economic laws, and its form of organization must correspond to the objective demands of economic developments. Following the development of the economy, the segregation of enterprises because they belong to different departments, trades and areas must inevitably be broken and free association formed on the principle

of specialization and cooperation. The exercise of policymaking power by the party committee of an enterprise under a certain local party organization for these multiprovincial and multitrade joint enterprises is obviously impractical.

Third, because the party committee and the enterprise are organizations of a different character, for many years there has been no clear definition of the question of economic responsibility. The party committee exercises the policymaking power but assumes no clear-cut economic responsibility for the results of enterprise management. The factory director (or manager) can assume responsibility, but he has no power to make decisions. This abnormal phenomenon of "power without responsibility and responsibility without power" is precisely the inevitable outcome of the mixing of these two organizations of a different character. The reform of the structure in the future must regard an enterprise as a relatively independent commodity producer and express the relationship between it and the state as that between rights and obligations; moreover, this relationship must be affirmed by the state in the form of laws. Every registered enterprise approved by the state has a "legal" status in law and must in its legal capacity assume economic responsibility and legal responsibility for its own management. If the party committee exercises the policymaking power, it certainly should also assume this legal responsibility. This obviously is unsuitable.

Fourth, democratic management is the basic feature of the socialist enterprise. To carry out democratic management we must implement the principle of democratic centralism in enterprises. To implement democratic centralism organizationally we must build the function and power of democratic centralism into an internal link directly connected to the organizational system.

The party organization itself is an organizational system of democratic centralism within the framework of party members. The party congress is elected by the whole body of party members, and it in turn produces the party committee and party committee secretaries to form the collective leadership on a democratic basis within the party. However, can we implement the democratic centralism of the party within each enterprise? Obviously not. The democratic centralism of an enterprise can only be established by the participation of all the workers of an enterprise, so that the enterprise becomes an integrated body of free and equal producers as envisioned by Marx and Engels. The existing leadership structure regards the workers congress as a democratic organization of each enterprise and the party committee as a centralized policymaking organization. Democracy and centralism cannot constitute an intrinsic link of the organizational system. Therefore, they also cannot effectively carry out democratic centralism within the enterprise.

Fifth, the workers congress is a very good innovation in democratic management of enterprises tried out in China. For many years the use of this organizational form has played a positive role in developing democracy and arousing the enthusiasm of the workers to run their own affairs. However, this role is still very limited.

Based on the existing structure, the workers congress has been called the organ of power of the enterprise. What actual power has this organ of power? In general, it should have supervisory power. Practice has proved that, as a mass

organization, objectively it is very difficult for the workers congress to carry out effective supervision. In form, the factory director (or manager) must prepare a work report at regular intervals to be presented at the workers congress, but the important policies are always decided by the party committee. The factory director (or manager) is only an executive, and those things which the workers congress can supervise is also very limited. Therefore, it is not at all unusual for the following situation to arise: "The party committee makes the calls, the factory director makes reports, the representatives raise their hands and the trade unions play an insignificant role." This kind of democratic management cannot fully arouse the enthusiasm of the workers to run their own affairs. This condition is not the result of who has done well or who has not done well but the result of the inherent weakness of the structure itself.

Sixth, any modern enterprise must have a strong and powerful centralized command for routine production management, or in other words, it must practice the system of one-man leadership. This is the objective demand of socialized large-scale production. Such writers of Marxist classics as Marx, Engels and Lenin long ago made an extremely positive scientific analysis regarding this point.

The policies of a modern enterprise may be made collectively, but their implementation must be subordinated to a centralized command. In the past we criticized the "system of one-man leadership." This is significant if taken in connection with the policies on important issues. The transition of the capitalist enterprise from monopoly management to partnership management must still adopt the form of a board of directors to carry out necessary democratic policies. No doubt it is even more necessary for our socialist enterprise to adopt this democratic form, and we cannot allow one man to have the final say. However, in routine production management we must at any rate still practice the system of one-man leadership in the implementation of policies and let the factory director (or manager) be in charge of the centralized command.

In the factory director responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee, policies are made collectively by the party committee, and command is centralized within the factory director. Regardless of whether the exercise of policymaking power by the party committee is suitable or not, the principles of making policies collectively and one-man leadership are correct. In the past there was also the formulation of "the division of work with individual responsibility system on the part of the factory director under the leadership of the party committee." The routine work of an enterprise was handed to the director and several deputy directors, who divided the work and individual responsibility; it was not centralized under the factory director. In policymaking, some of the enterprises also did not give play to the collective role of the party committee but allowed the party committee secretary to make the decisions by himself on all matters both large and small. This in fact took the shape of "the system of one-secretary leadership." Consequently, policies were undemocratic or command was not centralized, and this perverse method was completely incompatible with the objective demand of socialized large-scale production of a modern enterprise.

The democratic centralism pursued in enterprises is centralism based on democracy. The person exercising centralized command has position and power as well as responsibility and is responsible to the organ making the democratic policies.

However, in a rational and effective responsibility system he can only be responsible to a single authorizing organ. If he has to be responsible to multiple leadership organs, it will be difficult to define his responsibility. Under the existing leadership structure, the factory director (or manager) not only must be responsible to the party committee but must also be responsible to the workers congress. This kind of multiple responsibility system also reflects the confusion in organizational construction.

From the above we can see that the factory director responsibility system and the workers congress system under the leadership of the party committee not only have numerous contradictions in the structure itself, but, judging from the orientation of the reform of the economic management structure in the future, will also pose more difficulties in adapting to the needs. Therefore, while reforming the economic management structure we must at the same time study and solve the question of the internal leadership structure of enterprises.

Strive To Improve the Leadership Structure of China's Socialist Enterprises

There is a general character as well as an essential distinction between socialist and capitalist enterprises. This distinction is due mainly to the differences in production relations. This is also the case in the leadership structure of enterprises: rational organization of productive forces and catering to the needs of socialized large-scale production have their common aspect. However, because of the differences in ownership systems, the socialist leadership structure inevitably will have its own unique character.

Based on the practical experiences of the past and the summing up of the orientation of structure reform in the future, we may summarize the leadership structure of socialist enterprises as developing democracy, unifying command and carrying out all-round supervision. The concrete method should be to allow the workers congress and its standing organizational structure (such as the management committee) to exercise the policymaking power in each enterprise, so that the workers of the enterprise can really be the masters of their own affairs and run each enterprise as an integrated body of free and equal producers. On the basis of democratic policy decisions, the factory director (or manager) should be allowed to exercise the order-giving power, and a strong and powerful democratic command system headed by the factory director (or manager) should be established in order to implement the policies and deal with the routine work of production and management. The party committee of each enterprise should carry out all-round supervision. It not only must supervise the workers congress and its standing organizational structure, but must also supervise the factory director (or manager) and cadres at various levels to guarantee that the economic policies and decrees of the state are implemented in the enterprise, so that the unity of the state and the independence of the enterprise can be correctly integrated.

This kind of leadership structure can be described as a factory director (or manager) responsibility system and an organizational system of democratic centralism composed of the workers congress and the factory director (or manager). Since the party committee remains outside this organizational system, the question of not distinguishing among the party, the government and the enterprise does not exist. However, as the vanguard of the proletariat, the party organization has

the responsibility to teach the party members exemplary action, lead the workers in observing economic policies and decrees of the state, safeguard the socialist character of an enterprise and carry out all-round supervision of the conditions of actual implementation within each enterprise.

Will this kind of leadership structure weaken the leadership of the party over enterprises? Convention and habit have always maintained that the policymaking power is primary in leadership power and that the supervisory power is secondary. This interpretation is lacking in scientific analysis. Of the three powers regarding enterprise management, the policymaking power is undoubtedly the most important to a capitalist enterprise and provides it with absolute independence. Therefore, the capitalists must exercise the policymaking power by means of a board of directors composed of their own representatives. However, because of the increasing demand on the part of the administrative management of an enterprise for specialized knowledge and experience, capitalist enterprises have no alternative but to draw on some specialists by having them join their board of directors. For the sake of reconciling class contradictions, they even practice a so-called "workers participation system" to draw on a small number of workers' representatives to join the board of directors. Consequently, there has appeared a tendency toward the separation of ownership power and management power. For the sake of safeguarding the interests of capitalist ownership, the capitalists of some enterprises have also begun to develop the role of supervisory power. Consequently, the supervisory committee of some enterprises has greater power than the board of directors.

Socialist enterprises must also have independence, and enterprises should also have the right to make their own policies. However, socialist enterprises have only relative independence under the unified leadership of the state. The policies of an enterprise can only be made to a certain extent within the framework of the unified policy, principles and decrees of the state and must also be under the guidance of the state plan. To guarantee the unified leadership of the state, the supervision of enterprise activities has become a major issue. The experiences of such countries as Yugoslavia have also indicated that this type of supervision has become even more necessary after the implementation of economic structure reform and gives greater decisionmaking power to enterprises. Between enterprises and the state there are certain contradictions as regards partial interests and overall interests and immediate interests and long-term interests. Only if the party organization keeps the interests of the proletariat and all the people in mind and educates the whole party and all the workers to correctly handle these contradictions can the unity of the state and the independence of enterprises be in complete accord.

If the party organization does not directly take part in the concrete policymaking and routine administrative work of enterprises but exercises the power of all-round supervision, it can more objectively and actively give play politically to its leadership role over enterprises. Relying on the prestige of the party and the exemplary action of the party members, the workers congress and the leading members of enterprises must certainly also listen to and respect the views of the party committee on important matters. Even so, if serious differences develop between a workers congress and a party committee, the party committee of this enterprise can still put things right by means of a party

committee at a higher level or the leadership department concerned. Therefore, the exercise of supervision by a party committee will certainly not weaken the leadership of the party; instead, it is only in this way that the political leadership of the party over the work of an enterprise can really be strengthened.

If the above principle can be established and this new type of leadership structure implemented, it is also necessary to correspondingly solve a series of concrete organizational measures. For example: How can we organize the workers congress and fix its authority and responsibility? Should there be a standing organizational structure under the workers congress in larger enterprises? Should we set up the usual kind of standing organizational structure or some special committees, such as a salary and welfare committee and a personnel examination and appointment committee, to deal democratically with problems workers are most concerned about? How should the factory director (or manager) be selected? Should he be elected or should he be recommended by the higher organ or party committee and appointed after consideration by the workers congress? Should the relationship between the factory director and deputy directors be that of the leader and those who are led, and should the deputy directors be appointed by the factory director? Based on the aforementioned structure, to regard the trade union as the standing organizational structure of the workers congress is obviously not quite suitable; then what active role can the trade unions play in enterprises? In the association of one enterprise with other enterprises to form various types of companies or integrated bodies, how do we establish the leadership structure of these companies? How do we establish the leadership structure of such basic-level units as branch companies, branch factories and workshops within an enterprise? Is there any necessity to adopt the election system for leading members of laboratories and workshops? Should the personnel who belong to the command system and carry out the policies of the factory director also be nominated or appointed by the factory director? All these questions still require further study, and after testing at selected points they should be defined by such laws as the "enterprise law" and "company law" promulgated by the state, subjected to practice and perfected constantly before they can finally become a new type of leadership structure with a distinctive Chinese style for socialist enterprises and create useful experience for building socialist economic democracy.

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THE QUESTION OF THE SOCIALIST UNIFIED MARKET

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[Article by Su Xing [5685 2502]]

[Text] Since the reform of economic management got under way, economic workers and theoretical workers in economics have placed heavy emphasis on research on the question of the market. This is really a question of the utmost importance. On the face of it, this is a question of distribution, but in fact it is a question which is concerned with the complete fulfillment of social reproduction and with the expansion of social reproduction. That is to say, it is a question which pervades all aspects of the national economy. In this article I am concerned only with the discussion of a few tentative approaches to the question of the socialist unified market.

1. The Flow of the Means of Production Is Included in the Socialist Unified Market

At the end of the 1890's, Lenin initiated a debate with the populists in which the main point at issue was whether or not capitalism in Russia was capable of development. The populists held that capitalism could not develop because there was no market. Lenin said that it was capable of development and that it was, moreover, developing at that moment, since the very nature of capitalist development consisted of the creation of its own markets. What Lenin actually said at the time was: "When the commodity economy first appeared, the domestic market appeared as a consequence. The domestic market was the product of the development of this commodity economy, and the exact degree of the social distribution of labor determined its level of development. The domestic market steadily expanded as the commodity economy turned from products to the work force. It was only as a consequence of the work force being transformed into a commodity that capitalism was able to spread to all aspects of the country's production, relying principally for its development on the expansion of the means of production, which held an increasingly significant position in the capitalist society." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 47) From these remarks of Lenin, we see that, first, the domestic market appeared at the same time as the commodity economy, and that, if there is a commodity economy, then there will be a market. Second, the more exact the distribution of labor becomes, the more the commodity economy develops and the more the market expands. Third, the capitalist market takes the employment of labor as its base and depends principally on the development of the means of production. This debate resulted in victory for Lenin and

defeat for the populists. The reason for this was that Lenin's hypothesis was in accord with the reality of the situation in Russia, while the hypothesis of the populists was not.

As all comrades who have read his "On the So-Called Market Question," "The Development of Russian Capitalism," and other relevant works will be aware, in the process of stating the form of the market Lenin used Marx' basic tenets relating to reproduction as his weapon throughout these works. This fact gives us great encouragement in our research on the question of the socialist market. According to Marx' basic tenets of reproduction, social production may be divided into two main types: the production of the means of production and the production of the means of subsistence. The means of production and the means of subsistence may both be traded in the same market. Only when they have undergone exchange can material compensation and value compensation be obtained for the two main types of social production. Despite this, throughout the long period of our investigations into the question of the socialist market, we have never been willing to admit that the means of production are a commodity. This has caused the unified socialist market to become incomplete and divorced from Marx' basic tenets of reproduction. If this problem is not resolved, it will constitute an obstacle to our thorough investigation of the question of socialist reproduction.

The source of the viewpoint which denies that the means of production are a commodity lies in Stalin's book "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." Before the publication of this book, a debate had also been raging in Soviet academic circles as to the existence or nonexistence of commodities under the socialist system, but it appears that no one engaged in the discussion made a distinction between the means of production and consumer goods. The foundation for the hypothesis which denied that the means of production were a commodity was in fact Stalin's definition of a commodity, namely, that "a commodity is that kind of goods which may be sold to any purchaser, and after its sale the owner loses his right of ownership over the commodity, while the purchaser in turn becomes the owner of the commodity and may resell or store the commodity or allow it to depreciate." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 578) From the beginning, everyone reversed this definition as if it were only writ, and scarcely anyone doubted it. Only in 1957, in China, did someone suggest that the transference of the right of ownership could not provide an indication of what was or was not a commodity, and maintain that "this new definition does not appear to be a development of Marx' classic definition; on the contrary, this new definition is incapable of explaining correctly what a commodity is." (Comrades Nan Bing [0589 0393] and Suo Zhen [4795 4176], ECONOMIC RESEARCH, No 1, 1957) I believe that a reappraisal of this definition of Stalin's is required if we are to conduct a thorough investigation of commodity production with an economy based on the system of ownership by the whole people.

I concur with the view which holds that Stalin's definition does not reflect the true nature of a commodity. Marx and Lenin both put forth definitions of a commodity, maintaining that a commodity is a dual entity, possessing both use value and value, and that its most fundamental relationships are those relationships which arise, in a mutually interdependent manner, when the producers of commodities treat their own labor as equivalent to the labor of humanity as whole. From the point of view of legal rights, in the exchange of commodities the right of ownership has been transferred. This kind of transfer is not the same as

giving gratis, or rendering dues, and is not a one-sided affair, but rather a mutual transfer of possession. On the level of principles, it works on the premise of exchange at equal prices. Marx said: "The social intercourse or social relations between two owners of private property creates the mutual nature of transfer, that is, the two-sided relations of transfer. In other words, transfer constitutes the relation between two owners of private property." ("A Critical Commentary on a Book by James Muller," cited in "Collected Translations in Economics," No 4, 1979) However, Marx did not use the transfer of right of ownership as a criterion of a commodity.

No special difficulties arise if, instead of setting out from Stalin's definition, we work on the basis of the real facts, admitting that the means of production exchanged within an economy based on the system of ownership by the whole people are also commodities. This is because, first, that kind of economy possesses the dual nature of commodities, namely, use value and value. Second, the labor which produces these commodities also possesses a dual nature, namely, concrete labor and abstract labor. Third, the value of this group of commodities is determined by the length of working time required of the society, and fourth, the value of this group of commodities is also expressed as price. If the means of production are not commodities, whence do all the above phenomena arise? Moreover, they are transferred independently of man's will, whether we choose to admit that this is so or not. I do not entirely agree with such statements as "causing the means of production to play the part of commodities" or "turning the means of production into commodities." This way of putting things may easily be misinterpreted to mean that we can, at will, cause something to play the part of a commodity or turn something into a commodity, or, equally, not do either of these things. In reality, the means of production have been commodities right from the beginning. We simply did not admit it and also did not treat them as playing the part of commodities in our policies. Now that we have admitted that the means of production are commodities, this does not mean that there has been some kind of change in their basic nature, but simply that our understanding has changed so that it is more in accord with objective laws.

To admit that the means of production are commodities is to admit that the flow of the means of production is included within the unified socialist market. Thus, the matter has been cleared up on the theoretical level. Our understanding of the socialist market is thus in closer accordance with objective reality. In practice, we will also be able to carry out conscious and bold systematic reforms.

As to why commodity production continues to exist within an economy which is based on the system of ownership by the whole people, opinions vary at the moment. However, a unanimous conclusion may be arrived at through academic discussion. Even if a unanimous conclusion cannot be reached, this would not be particularly important. This controversy is of an international nature, and up to now scarcely a single country has arrived at a unanimous view.

2. Concerning the Structure of the Socialist Unified Market

The characteristics of the socialist unified market, just as the name implies, are that it is socialist and that it is unified.

Apart from the products of the socialist state-run economy and of the collective economy, there are a few products of the individual economy at present being exchanged in China's markets. Can we say that all of these are subsumed in the socialist market? I believe that we can.

Generally speaking, whether we speak of the markets of capitalist countries or the markets of socialist countries, all the commodities flowing in the market are the products of economies under different systems of ownership. Once they have reached the market, these commodities, produced by economies having different ownership systems, become completely equal entities, and "in this respect there is no difference whatsoever between commodities produced by capitalists and commodities produced by independent workers, by workers communes or by slaves." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, p 429) The crux of the problem is to ascertain the system of ownership of the economy producing the commodities which make up the dominant part of the market. The nature of the commodities which dominate the market can determine the nature of the market. Eighty or 90 percent of the commodities circulating in China's markets are produced by the socialist economy; obviously the market may be said to be socialist.

Now, what kind of structure does this socialist unified market have? In his speech to the eighth party congress, Comrade Chen Yun gave the following summary: "This market of the socialist economy is not the free market of capitalism, but rather the unified market of socialism. In the socialist unified market the state market constitutes its dominant part, but within a certain scope it also contains a state-guided free market. This free market is under state guidance and complements the state market; thus, it is a constituent part of the socialist unified market." It has been proved in practice that these inferences are in accordance with the real state of affairs in China. What is regrettable is that, after the inferences were made, things were not done in complete accordance with them. For a long time an attitude of discrimination was adopted against the free market, and while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, some areas treated it as a capitalist road in order to obstruct it and wantonly do away with it.

It goes without saying that a planned market includes the means of production and consumer goods distributed according to a plan. But what is included in the free market (or unplanned market)? First of all, there is the country fair trade. Apart from this, we should also include the mutual exchange of commodities at negotiated prices, after their plans have been completed, between enterprises, departments and regions. Among these commodities are consumer goods, as well as the means of production. This kind of exchange of commodities was formerly illegal but is now lawful.

The planned market and the free market can coexist for a long period during the stage of socialism. For more than 20 years the free market has been opened up when it had been shut down, has been shut down when it was open, has reopened when shut down again, or has operated covertly when it appeared to be closed down. Throughout this period it was impossible to close it down completely, which proves that it is an objectively and independently existing economic base. The following factors are involved in this base:

First, since there exist economies under different systems of ownership, and because commodity production takes place in all towns and villages, the commodities are of innumerable varieties and cannot all circulate through the single medium of the planned market. If the flow of goods is to be speeded up, the number of channels through which they may flow must be increased, and the free market can be used to play a complementary role.

Second, the most significant difference between the planned market and the free market lies in their prices. In this respect the two markets are able to regulate each other. When there are market imbalances of supply and demand, in order to stabilize prices in the planned market the state must relax the restrictions on prices in the free market so as to regulate supply and demand. When supply and demand in the planned market approach each other or are in a state of balance, prices in the free market will fall back again and may even go below those in the planned market. When this happens the state should step up purchasing, regulate free market prices and guarantee production.

Thus, the planned market and the free market are not two completely isolated markets but constitute a single unified market.

At present four kinds of prices are in existence in China's market.

(1) Fixed prices: The prices fixed by the state for important commodities and labor are related to the national economy and the people's livelihood. These include, for example, purchasing prices for important agricultural products, the producer prices of important raw and processed materials, fuel and sources of motive energy power, as well as standard prices and fees for the railroads, the national airline, postal services and important waterways, etc. Changes in these prices must be approved by the relevant departments.

(2) Floating prices: These are of two types. The first are those prices which have a unified fixed price as their upper limit but which are permitted to float in a downward direction. The second type consists of those prices which have a fixed unified price as their median standard but which are allowed to fluctuate, within certain limits, above and below this price. Floating prices include producer prices, wholesale prices and retail prices. When floating prices for commodities are put into effect, labor must be distributed according to the limits of authority of the prices administration, and proper approval must be sought.

(3) Negotiated prices: These are the prices negotiated by both buyers and sellers. Among the commodities whose prices are now negotiated are three kinds of agricultural sideline products and small industrial commodities. There are also one or two agricultural products which may be put on the market when sales to the state have been fulfilled. The negotiation of prices for some of the industrial means of production has also, in fact, begun.

(4) Country fair trade prices: The prices of all commodities permitted by state policy to be marketed at country fairs are negotiated by the buyers and sellers and may freely increase or decrease.

I maintain that the first two types of prices belong to the category of planned prices and that these planned prices constitute the planned market, while the second two types of prices should be placed in the category of unplanned prices, and unplanned prices compose the free market.

Whether they are planned or unplanned, all prices must conform to the law of value.

Previously we have discussed the questions of the spontaneous nature of the law of value and the conscious use of the law of value. In fact, these are problems of the relationship between an objective law and the subjective dynamic role of men. The law of value is not transformed by man's will; it cannot be eliminated by men, nor can it be limited by men. If one understands it and gives expression to it in price policies, then one can consciously use it to regulate production and distribution. On the other hand, if one does not understand it and is unable to give expression to its demands in price policies, it will nevertheless still regulate production and distribution of its own accord.

Planned prices require stability. But it is not the case that stability does not require adjustment. By means of frequent small adjustments, carried out in an active way, large adjustments over which we have no control may be avoided. The fact that the present scale of adjustments is relatively large is the result of the accumulation of contradictions over many years. Once prices have been through this process of adjustment, they still need to be adjusted. Some changes and adjustments are based on the present state of supply and demand, and some must be based on the relations between supply and demand over a long period. Price adjustments are not only increases with no decreases but can be either increases or decreases.

Unplanned prices possess spontaneity, but they are also a sensitive indicator of change. They can put out signals of changes in the relations of supply and demand, reminding us to make conscious use of the law of value and to adjust planned prices in a planned way.

3. In Order To Expand the Socialist Unified Market It Is Necessary To Develop the Social Distribution of Labor

The market is the category of the commodity economy, and the basis of the commodity economy is the social distribution of labor. If we wish to expand the socialist market we must develop the social distribution of labor.

In China's old society the distribution of labor was not advanced. After the founding of new China, following the development of industrial and agricultural production, the social distribution of labor underwent expansion. However, under the influence of the self-sufficient small-scale peasant economy ideology, all the regions were required to set up independent economic systems. Industrial enterprises aimed at being "small and complete" or "large and complete," agriculture stressed self-sufficient production, and this caused severe limitations to be imposed on the social distribution of labor. These conditions were not favorable for the expansion of the socialist unified market.

The development of the social distribution of labor covers many aspects.

First of all, there is the development of the distribution of labor between industry and agriculture and between rural and urban areas. The distribution of labor between industry and agriculture is very closely related to the distribution of labor between rural and urban areas. "The development of the commodity economy is in fact the separation of each industrial department from agriculture." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 19) In the wake of this separation there emerges the process of the transformation of the agricultural population into an urban population. Even in the advanced capitalist countries this process has still not yet come to an end. For instance, the increase in the proportion of urban population between 1950 and 1975 was from 64 percent in the former year to 77.6 percent in the latter year in the United States, from 35.8 percent to 57.6 percent in Japan, from 70.9 percent to 83.3 percent in West Germany, from 77.9 percent to 84.4 percent in Britain, and from 55.4 percent to 73.4 percent in France. In societies in which the exploiting class holds the position of dominance, the process of separation of urban and rural areas has exacerbated the antithesis between the two areas. However, from the point of view of the development of the social economy, this is a great advance. Marx maintains that "the basis of all labor distribution which is advanced, and which uses the exchange of commodities as a vehicle, is the separation of the urban and rural areas. The whole history of economics in society may be summarized as the fluctuations of this separation." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 390) In the view of the Japanese themselves, one of the reasons for the rapid postwar development of the Japanese economy was in fact urbanization. They believe that the concentration of 57 percent of the total population into 2 percent of the country's area was one factor in their economic development.

For a long time the proportion of commodities among China's agricultural products remained stagnant, and the amount of grain purchases by the state accounted for only about 20 percent of total output. An important reason for this was that the productivity of agricultural labor was low. Since the productivity of agricultural labor did not increase, there was no more commodity grain which could be supplied to the urban areas, and if the agricultural population moved to the cities, they were forced to return to the countryside. Have we not already learned our lesson from the two large-scale migrations of peasants into the cities and two cutbacks of staff and workers? However, considering the problem from the long-term point of view, the productivity of agricultural labor will always need to be further increased. If the productivity of agricultural labor could be doubled (raising the average grain output of each able-bodied worker from 2,000 jin to 4,000 jin), it would be possible for the average number of people supported by each able-bodied agricultural worker to be increased from the present 3.23 to 6.5, and a marked change would occur in the economic structure of industry and agriculture and of urban and rural areas.

China has a large number of able-bodied workers, and for quite a long time to come a fairly large proportion of them must be employed in rural areas. All channels should be opened up for them, and they must carry on many kinds of operations and be involved in enterprises at the commune and production brigade levels. However, following the increase in the number of people who can be supported by an able-bodied agricultural worker, even more people will be required

to move into the cities. Compared with the rural areas, there are more opportunities for employment in the cities, and according to the industrial classification of capitalist countries the second and third classes of industry are carried on mainly in urban areas.

In China's large cities of more than 1 million inhabitants, of which there are many, housing, transportation and supplies of goods and materials, as well as the available land and water, are all under a very considerable strain, so these large cities cannot be further expanded. On the other hand, medium-sized and small towns should be founded and developed in a planned way. Especially important is the founding and development of new towns in the interior and along the borders. At present this matter is receiving careful consideration within capitalist and socialist countries. Whatever their future destiny may be, in the socialist stage at least, these towns will always be political, economic and cultural centers. Lessening the distinction between urban and rural areas does not mean making the towns emulate the rural areas, nor that everybody is to return to the countryside; rather, it means, most importantly, raising the standards of economic and cultural life in the rural areas. And this can only be achieved with the encouragement and assistance of the urban areas. Present-day life offers proof that it is relatively easy to develop these rural areas which are close to cities, while it is very difficult, on the other hand, to raise the standards of economic and cultural life in villages situated in poor, out-of-the-way rural areas far from the cities.

Second, there is the development of the distribution of labor between departments and within departments. As Marx has said: "Supposing there are only four different production departments, then a very large portion of the goods produced by each person within these four departments will be produced for his own use. If there are several thousand production departments, then each person may produce his entire output of goods in the form of commodities. His total output of goods may be exchanged." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, p 203) This explains how it happens that the relations between the labor distribution of departments and the expansion of the market are so intimate. In investigating the question of the market, Lenin started out from the social distribution of labor. He said: "The social distribution of labor is the basis of the commodity economy. As the processing industries and the mining industries become separated from each other, they each further split up into several very small departments. Each of these departments in turn carries out an exchange of the commodities which have special characteristics, from among those which it produces, with all the other production departments. In this way the development of the commodity economy causes all the independent industrial departments to increase in number. The tendency of this kind of development is to form specialized industrial departments for the manufacture not only of each product but also for the manufacture of every part of each product and to form specialized departments not only for the manufacture of each product but also for every operation required to make these products into genuine consumer goods." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 17) From 1899, when Lenin wrote "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," to the present day, there have been great developments in the distribution of labor, in both industry and agriculture, between departments as well as within departments. In industry, not only have a large number of new departments made their appearance, but they have become more specialized. Through the

specialization of products, spare parts, industrial skills and basic technology, the socialization of production has attained a new level. In agriculture, some agriculturally advanced countries have already achieved regional specialization. There have also been wide-ranging developments in the specialization of enterprises. More than 99 percent of U.S. agricultural products now pass through commercial channels, and the farmers themselves also buy back from the market a large proportion of processed foodstuffs; these are the results of specialization. In China the former "large and complete" and "small and complete" production methods in industry and the self-sufficiency of production in agriculture greatly limited the distribution of labor between departments and within departments and did not help the expansion of the market. At present we are going about the reorganization of industry on the principles of specialization and cooperation, establishing base areas for grain and for other agricultural and sideline products on the principle of suiting measures to local conditions, as well as setting up base areas for animal husbandry. These measures will further expand the distribution of labor between departments and within departments, raise the proportion of commodities, and thus bring about the steady expansion of the domestic market.

Third, there is the distribution of labor between regions. China is a large country, vast in territory and with a huge population, and as such it should establish its own independent economic system. Of course, this economic system should not be shut off from the outside world; it needs to develop a wide intercourse with world markets and must also enter the world market. However, it is neither desirable nor necessary for every province and municipality within the country to set up its own independent economic system. In the past there was a time when every province and municipality was putting the emphasis on setting up its own independent economic system, unilaterally striving for self-sufficiency in products, splitting up the unified market into many fragments, and severing economic relations formed in the course of history. Practice has already afforded us proof that this is detrimental to the development of the socialist economy.

Everybody is in favor of the recent emphasis by the party Central Committee on encouraging strong points and avoiding weaknesses and on bringing into play the superiority of each area. In fact, these measures are equivalent to the development of the interregional distribution of labor. Each province and municipality in China has different natural resources and a different economic structure, just as each has its own strong and weak points. If every province and municipality encourages its strong points, then not only will the provinces and municipalities be able to speed up their development, but the development of the national economy as a whole will surely also be speeded up. This is because the national economy is formed by the economies of the provinces and municipalities.

If the superiority of each province and municipality is to be brought into play, it is first of all necessary to develop the unified socialist market, allowing high-quality goods at competitive prices to be on sale throughout the country. In general, provinces and municipalities should not implement protectionist policies. At present, if the production of certain low-quality goods with high production costs is able to continue as before, this is more often than not because of the implementation of protectionist policies that limit competition

from high-quality goods which have low production costs. This way of doing things cannot go on forever. From the point of view of an individual province or municipality, the following should be considered: If there are products which it is cheaper to purchase from other provinces or municipalities than to manufacture locally, then it may not be absolutely necessary to manufacture them. Conversely, you should start to produce goods which are cheaper to manufacture locally than to purchase from other provinces and municipalities. Only then can you be considered to be striving for economic results.

In summary, then, we should develop the social distribution of labor and, on the basis of the social distribution of labor, vigorously develop the commodity economy. In this way the socialist market for a population of nearly 1 billion people can in truth become the world's largest domestic market.

CSO: 4004

QUERIES ON THE QUESTION OF THE PRODUCTION STRUCTURE--SEEKING THE ADVICE OF
COMRADES LIAO JILI AND GAO YISHENG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Hu Fengji [5170 6646 0679]]

[Text] I have greatly benefited from reading the article by Comrades Liao Jili and Gao Yisheng entitled "Turn Our Country's Production From a Heavy Structure Into a Light Structure" (carried in RED FLAG No 16, 1980). However, there are some questions that I would like to ask the writers.

1. Distinctions between the heavy and the light structures of production:

The writers set the 4:6 ratio as a criterion for determining whether the structure of production is light or heavy. Where the total output value of heavy industry accounts for 40 percent or less of the combined total of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, it is a light structure. Where the former exceeds 40 percent, it is a heavy structure.

The problem is: What provides the basis for this ratio? Is it scientific to use given proportions in the total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry as a yardstick by which to judge whether or not the production structure is rational?

Historically speaking, before 1975, except for a few years (1958 to 1960), the total output value of heavy industry always represented a proportion of less than 40 percent. Based on the criterion set by the writers, it was thus a light structure. However, this could not be taken to mean that the proportions represented by agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in the past were in harmony. In fact, in a concrete analysis of historical experiences the writers based their arguments on the too rapid or sudden expansion or contraction of these proportions and not on the 4:6 ratio. I think that it is right for us to use the too rapid or sudden expansion of the proportion of heavy industry as a way to analyze lessons from the past concerning the structure of production. But it is hardly convincing to set the 4:6 ratio as a criterion.

2. Are the proportional readjustments called for by the writers possible?

In 1978 the proportions of our agriculture, light industry and heavy industry were, respectively, 27.8, 31.1 and 41.1. The proportions that the writers

demanding for a light structure were: the growth of agriculture from 27.8 percent to 28 percent; the growth of light industry from 31.1 percent to 32 percent; and a cutback in heavy industry from 41.1 percent to 40 percent or less.

Is such a ratio put forward by the writers rational? Is this possible? No. I think that this runs counter to the objective trends of production growth.

1) It is not realistic to demand an increased proportion of agriculture. As the writers said, "changes in the production structure are a result of the development of different sectors at different rates of growth." However, can we envision a growth rate of agriculture exceeding that of industry? In summing up past experiences, the writers envisioned an annual growth rate of 4 percent for agriculture. Unless the growth rate of industry is lower than 4 percent, the proportion of the total output value of agriculture cannot possibly grow. The writers also mentioned a corresponding increase of 8 percent in the annual growth rate of light industry. If such is the case, with an increase of just a little more than 1 percent in the annual growth rate of heavy industry, the growth rate of industry is still higher than that of agriculture, given 1978 as the base. Moreover, with the growth rate of agriculture standing at 4 percent and that of light industry at 8 percent, the annual growth rate of heavy industry can never be 1 percent. Therefore, as far as the trends of development are concerned, the proportion of agriculture is likely to shrink. Facts have also proved this to be the case. After 1 year's adjustment, agriculture showed a rare growth rate of 8.6 percent in 1979, but the proportion it represented still dropped to 25.5 percent from 27.8 percent in 1978. (The total output value of agriculture in 1979 stood at 158.4 billion yuan, while the combined total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was 617.5 billion yuan.)

("Communique of the State Statistical Bureau," RENMIN RIBAO, 5 January 1980) Can we negate the effect of 1 year's adjustment just because of a drop in the proportion of the total output value of agriculture? Obviously we cannot. A drop in the proportion of the output value of agriculture does not clash with the accelerated development of agriculture. These are two different problems.

2) It is also difficult to bring about an increase in the proportion of the combined total output value of agriculture and light industry. If agriculture and light industry are to grow at rates envisioned by the writers, raising their proportion in the total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry would call for confining the annual growth rate of heavy industry to below 6.2 percent. If it exceeds 6.2 percent, the proportion of heavy industry is likely to grow and exceed the original 41.1 percent. I believe that, with the growth rate of heavy industry in a given period lower than that of light industry, its reduced proportion in industry is necessary. However, a growth rate lower than that of agriculture and light industry combined is uncalled for and improper.

The growth rate of light industry in 1979 was greater than that of heavy industry, but the proportion of heavy industry still rose to 42.3 percent from 41.1 percent. I believe that this slow growth of the proportion of heavy industry is normal and compatible with the law of expanded social reproduction.

Under normal circumstances the relative growth rates of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry should be: a higher growth rate for heavy industry than

for light industry and a higher rate for light industry than for agriculture, or a higher rate for light industry than for heavy industry and a higher rate for heavy industry than for agriculture. It is unrealistic to demand a higher growth rate for agriculture than for light industry and a higher growth rate for light industry than for heavy industry. Given a lower growth rate for agriculture than for heavy industry, the proportion represented by heavy industry in the total output value of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry will rise, even given a higher growth rate for light industry than for heavy industry.

I think that it is not a bad thing if, instead of expanding rapidly or abruptly, heavy industry grows steadily, as it did in 1979. If we insist on reducing the proportion of heavy industry from the existing 42.3 percent to below 40 percent, then the growth rate of heavy industry is not only lower than that for light industry but also lower than the combined total output value of agriculture and light industry. Such an approach is not in order.

Therefore, in my opinion, what the writers set as ideal proportions for agriculture, light industry and heavy industry—28:32:40—are not ideal and not compatible with the laws of production growth. Only when the proportion of heavy industry stands below 40 percent is it a light structure. If this is the case, then the appearance of a light structure is hardly possible.

Besides, an analysis to determine what constitutes a light or heavy structure is based on the classification of industry into light and heavy industries. But there is no fixed standard for judgment. At present, classification is based only on the department under which an enterprise is placed. Changes in the departments placed in charge, such as a switchover from the machinery department and the chemical department to the light industry department where the control of television and chemical fiber industries is concerned, are always followed by changes in the proportions of light industry and heavy industry. In fact, these changes are not really changes in the structure of production. Because the determination of a light or heavy structure is affected, to a certain extent, by a free adjustment of the relations between the department in charge and the enterprise under it, classification can hardly be accurate. How does one analyze the structure of production as far as the form of something concrete is concerned? What is the basis of classification? These are points worth studying.

Generally speaking, I hold the view that in the current period of adjustment and for a certain period of time to come it is correct and necessary to accelerate the development of agriculture and light industry and make light industry grow faster than heavy industry. But the proportions of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry sought by Comrades Liao Jili and Gao Yisheng and their arguments must be further studied.

CSO: 4004

LETTER OF COMPLAINT FROM READERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 p 21

[Text] Editor's Note: Due to an editorial oversight, this magazine carried in its No 16 issue this year an article entitled "There Is No Gold That Is 100 Percent Pure," which contained plagiarized passages. In order to draw a lesson therefrom and get rid of plagiarism, we publish here the letter of complaint from the readers.

Comrade Editor:

After reading the No 16, 1980, issue of your magazine, we found that the article entitled "'There Is No Gold That Is 100 Percent Pure' and Something Else" by Liang Change was a case of plagiarism. Its third passage was basically copied from the article "We Cannot Overlook an Otherwise Perfect Piece of Jade Just Because of a Single Flaw," published in GUANGMING RIBAO on 13 February 1980 (written by Gan Feng).

Half of Gan Feng's article of over 1,000 Chinese characters was copied by Liang Change with passages reproduced in their entirety. For example, the following passages were reproduced by Liang Change without changing a single word: "To find a really talented person is like attempting the impossible...." "Strange to say, it is a case of looking for talent and not sons-in-law...." "We must not 'let a single tree leaf block our view and lose sight of Mount Taishan.' Similarly, we must not be blind to an otherwise perfect piece of jade just because of a single flaw," and so forth. What is noteworthy is that the same mistake appeared in Liang's article when a quotation from Wang Chong's words, "Soup for the gourmet must leave something to be desired," was erroneously given by Gan Feng as "Soup for the gourmet must leave everything to be desired." Since the evidence is in black and white, it cannot be denied. It is really inconceivable that a party magazine has become involved in a serious case of plagiarism.

Such a practice must be criticized and stopped. We have a letter for Liang Change which we ask you to please hand over to him.

With best wishes,

Several students of the Philosophy Department, the Chinese People's University
19 August 1980

CSO: 4004

INDEPENDENT THINKING AND CREATIVE WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 22-25

[Article by Jin Wen [6855 3080]]

[Text]

I

Independent thinking is the right as well as the responsibility of every revolutionary. Of course, after going through the painful years in which "ten thousand horses stand mute," it is not easy to talk about independent thinking. However, at a time when we are carrying out our new Long March, independent thinking is vital to the individual, the party and the whole nation. This is a topic which we should study conscientiously.

We are now in a new era in which the realization of socialist modernization is the basic task. As distinct from the previous revolution, we are now building a new world instead of destroying the old one. This new world should not appear only as an empty concept, nor should it remain at the scaffolding stage. It should appear as a grand mansion which is rich in content. We are actually building this mansion through our many reforms from the economic base to the superstructure. Whether we are referring to our country or to the world as a whole, socialism is still at a stage of experimentation. Although there are many experiences and precedents both within and without the country which we can follow, there is no readymade blueprint for us to follow in building socialism according to national conditions. As we turn our underdeveloped socialist society into a modernized and highly democratic and civilized socialist power, neither the leftist line of the "Cultural Revolution" nor the simple solution of restoring the methods before the Cultural Revolution will suffice. Many of the pathways have to be explored by ourselves, and some systems have to be reformed. Reform means the elimination of the old and establishment of the new. We have to reform our national management system, economic management system, leadership system as well as the cadre system. Those backward links and structures which are obstructing the four modernizations should be eliminated or changed. Systems and institutions favoring and promoting the four modernizations should be set up. This cannot be done by sticking to the old ways. This requires the bringing forth of new ideas. It is only through blazing new trails that the nation can develop and the country can make progress. Only then can the blueprints of the four modernizations be realized. Our age is an age of creativity. Our work is creative work.

Where does creativity come from? It comes from independent thinking. According to Marxist epistemology, man is differentiated from animal mainly by his subjective initiative. This includes his dynamic role in knowing the world and actively changing it. Furthermore, the dynamic role of knowing the world is the precondition for the dynamic role of changing the world. Independent thinking is part of the thinking process of actively knowing the world and finding out ways of changing it. Knowledge is sought through the study of objective reality. If this is real knowledge and penetrating insight, it can add new pearls to the collective wisdom that humanity has already acquired. This will become creative work. To be sure, not every kind of independent thinking can be creative. However, creative thinking is always the product of independent thinking. People often talk about the limitations to an individual's knowledge. It is said to be limited by factors such as one's experience, intellectual level and scope of practical experience. This is true and definitely represents a shortcoming. However, since each individual is placed in a specific sphere and has specific experiences, he can be in touch with things which no other person can experience. This makes it possible for him to know things more deeply and acquire knowledge which no one else can have. This is the strong point of an individual's knowledge. It goes without saying that the effects of this strong point depend very much on the extent of independent thinking. Anyone who can think independently and bring this strong point into play can produce creative thinking. If a person can bring this strong point into play and develop his own creative thinking, then he will have better knowledge of his own age and his whole profession. The achievements in his work will be more impressive.

Thus, it can be seen that we should not rely solely on the independent thinking of a few persons while the rest of the nation simply obeys the orders they have given. Therefore, the work of socialist modernization includes many aspects and links. The division of labor is extensive and varied, and the actual conditions differ in thousands of ways. The independent thinking of any individual or "small group of people cannot be" omniscient and omnipotent. Everything is the unity of generality and individuality. Generality and individuality are also undergoing constant changes. People should learn from each other, exchange experiences and communicate their knowledge of the generality of things. As for knowledge of the individuality of things, it can only depend on the research and investigation of the comrades directly in touch with such things. As the saying goes, "Those who stay near the river know the fish in it, and those who live in the mountains know the birds." Certain comrades are willing to exercise their minds and use their independent thinking to understand various situations and "individual cases." Such knowledge can in turn enrich our party's knowledge of the generalities. Furthermore, such knowledge is an indispensable basis for the formulation of correct lines and policies. Therefore, the leader cannot think for the masses, the superior for the subordinate and A for B. In fact, nobody can think for other people. Everybody should think "independently." Everyone has his own head, which is the thinking organ. It should be so used as to contribute to the socialist cause.

The independent thinking we are talking about is a category of the epistemology of dialectical materialism. It is different from mechanical materialism and subjective idealism. Therefore, independent thinking must be based on objective reality and must draw on all the true, complete and systematic materials. It must

conform to the guidance of the scientific mode of thinking of dialectical materialism. It must be resolutely on the side of the people's interests. The knowledge thus gained should be able to stand the test of practice and be able to prove its validity. Only thus can accumulative results be produced. Otherwise, if everything is just based on abstract principles and anachronistic "frameworks," objective reality will only be replaced by subjective speculation. Furthermore, if individual interest becomes the focal point of one's thinking, it will only lead to unrealistic and erroneous conclusions. These will not have any accumulated results.

II

For a long time there has been a common practice to place the implementation of party policies and instructions from above in opposition to independent thinking. It was believed that the only thing to do was to follow the party's policies and the instructions of the higher authority. It was also held that there was no need for any independent thinking or any creativity. In actual fact, this is a confused viewpoint. It is true that the party's policy and instructions from higher authorities should be implemented. However, there are two ways of implementing such policies and instructions. One is to follow blindly and mechanically, while the other is to implement creatively.

For blind and mechanical implementation, independent thinking is definitely superfluous. For this method, all will be safe and sound as long as the party's policies and instructions from above are copied word for word and proclaimed without the slightest alteration. If the policies and instructions from above only outline the general principles, they will remain principles after passing through the many "transmission points." On the other hand, if the policies and instructions from above are concrete ones, they will be implemented regardless of local conditions and suitability. The task of the "transmission points" is to press the policies and instructions downwards regardless of suitability. It seems as though this method is very true to the party's policies and instructions from above. However, this is highly undesirable. As Stalin said, if our cadres "become routinists who aimlessly, blindly and mechanically implement instructions from above, then the work of our country and party will definitely be weakened." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol II, p 461)

On the other hand, independent thinking is indispensable for creative and dynamic implementation of the party's policies and instructions from above. This is because, first, even if the policy is correct, the results will be different if implementation is on the basis of thorough understanding rather than routine implementation which lacks understanding. The various correct principles and policies formulated after the third plenary session have been supported and implemented by the majority of cadres. Some comrades have really exercised their minds. They have a clearer and more thorough understanding of the historical background, objective reality, theoretical principles, prospects, new ideas and contents behind these principles and policies. In the course of implementing these policies they have opened up their minds. They not only carry out such policies resolutely but also supplement and develop them and make innovations. However, some comrades do not have independent thinking. They do not fully understand the rationale behind these principles and policies. They will waver

at the first sign of problems. Of course, there is no example of creativity that one can specifically discuss. Second, certain policies of the party have more general and long-term implications. A more general and long-term policy will be more confined to the level of laying down general principles. It cannot be too specific and rigid, nor can it provide any detailed program for action. If an implementation plan is to be based on the integration of general instructions and a specific situation, it should be done independently by comrades from various local departments. Third, the correctness of any policy or instruction from above is relative. It is a unity of relative and absolute truth. Certain specific stipulations might not conform fully to the special conditions of a specific time and place. Furthermore, a policy which originally conformed to the specific conditions might become unrealistic. This is quite common. In such a situation, one must be good at differentiating the spirit of a policy from the letter of the law. The spirit behind the policy should not be violated, while the letter of the law should not be rigidly adhered to. If there is objective need for something to be done and the necessary conditions are available, it should be done with enthusiasm and initiative, even if the higher authorities have not set forth specific stipulations about it. There is no need to wait for the stipulations, policies and suggestions from above. If the suggestions and stipulations from above are found to be erroneous, positive suggestions based on sound justifications should be forwarded for rectification. Stipulations that are really not in keeping with the specific time and place can be and should be modified. Such stipulations should be suited to the specific conditions, so that results in conformity with the spirit behind the policy can be attained. It is beyond doubt that the most essential thing here is still independent thinking and creative labor. Our comrades should not let themselves remain in the psychological state of not daring to say one more word or take one more step. What is right should be done as long as it is beneficial to the four modernizations and the short-term and long-term interests of the people. However, there must be adequate investigations and democratic discussions. With the gradual unfolding of the reform of the state management system and economic management system, gradual rectification of the overconcentration of power, and gradual enlargement of local autonomy and enterprise self-management, it is even more important for our cadres to handle problems with independent thinking. At present, certain cadres crave for "red tape" in handling anything and desire to have the stipulations from above as detailed and rigid as possible. This is absolutely impossible and should definitely not be entertained. Therefore, from now on one should exercise one's leadership responsibility and handle everything with independent judgment. This should be restrained by the socialist legal system, under the guidance of party principles and policies and on the basis of actual conditions. It will become more and more difficult for those who merely pass on instructions from above to get by.

III

The proletarian party is an advanced party which represents the orientation of historical development. In essence it is full of creativity. Why is it that certain comrades lack independent thinking? This certainly has its roots.

During the democratic revolution and the early years of the republic there was an atmosphere conducive to independent thinking. However, after the overextension

of the antirightist struggle and the ungrounded antirightist drive of 1959, many comrades who have independent thinking suffered a lot. From then on the atmosphere for independent thinking went from bad to worse. When it came to the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted their modern superstition extensively and carried out an obscurantist policy. Independent thinking was no longer a virtue but a "crime." According to their reactionary theory, the genius leader has keen insight into everything. What the rest of the people should do is "to follow." This fundamentally denied the necessity of independent thinking. Under their fascist tyranny, who could dare have any doubts about their "instructions"? Anyone who dared to say "no" would be dealt with without delay. Independent thinking was denied theoretically and attacked politically. Independent thinking thus became a "risk" and a "calamity." This state of affairs lasted more than a decade and could not help leaving a deep impression on the minds of certain comrades. It was believed that there was "peace" as long as one "followed instructions" every day. Such a historical misfortune remains a heavy burden today and obstructs the independent thinking of certain comrades.

Second, there is the defect of bureaucratism in an excessively centralized leadership and cadre system. The independent thinking of lower-level cadres became superfluous under the influence of excessive centralization, bureaucratism and patriarchy. As time passed, certain comrades became so used to following orders that they were unable to think independently. Due to the existence of a system of lifelong leadership posts for cadres and the lack of an effective supervisory and examination system, those who have a declining revolutionary willpower could be satiated with food and remain idle. For these comrades, as long as there was the lifelong system and a secure post to fall back on, there was no need for any independent thinking in order to get a high post and a handsome salary and live an easy life.

Furthermore, there is the problem of the force of habit, "conventions" and "stereotypes." Among our cadres, certain comrades have weathered many hardships and acquired much experience. Many of their valuable experiences are the product of independent thinking in the past, and these had positive effects on the revolutionary cause. Such past experience is still useful for our four modernizations today. What is beneficial today should be correctly absorbed, and what is harmful or outdated should be abandoned. In this way, past experiences will become the nutrient for today's independent thinking. However, if one is confined by one's past experience and refuses to exercise one's mind to try new things and explore new problems, and if one refuses to accept new ideas and methods, then past experience will become the burden which obstructs independent thinking at present.

Finally, there is no criteria to differentiate right from wrong and no standard for reward or punishment. Those who were willing to exercise their minds and who achieved remarkable results were often mocked and attacked. However, those who followed closely the instructions from above, took a cautious stand on every issue and did as little as possible, taking all credit for themselves but putting all blame on the higher authority, managed to get by successfully and received rapid promotions. The perennial popularity of the irrational practice of not giving due reward to merit and of failing to punish the guilty has worn down the spirit of independent thinking of many people.

The above-mentioned burdens have so laden certain comrades that they simply cannot take a single step on the path of developing independent thinking and carrying out creative work. These burdens not only weigh heavily on those comrades but also obstruct other people. Those who cannot think independently do not like other people to have independent thinking. The practice of "placing political labels" on or "bludgeoning" anyone who does not conform to the leftist line is, of course, uncommon today. However, one cannot say that it has disappeared altogether. Some people still exhibit the old habit of "placing political labels" on and "bludgeoning" anyone who shows independent thinking. This certainly has no effect on those who take a firm stand. But for those who still have a lingering fear, this has its deterrent effect. There are still cases in which comrades keen in their thinking and insight are ignored. They are considered ideologically untrustworthy and are barred from important posts in various organizations, whereas those who are obsequious and obedient are appreciated, trusted and given important responsibilities. In other cases, independent thinking is not objected to outwardly. However, proposals derived from independent thinking are often laid aside without being considered. All these are still strangling the creative spirit of the party and the nation. This problem must be conscientiously resolved in terms of ideology, organization, system and work style.

Independent thinking is not a problem of personal likes and dislikes. It is needed by the cause of the four modernizations and the development of the party and the nation. Independent thinking is a sign of strong dedication to the revolutionary cause and a sense of responsibility. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the third plenary session, the shattering of the spiritual fetters of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has given rise to more and more people with independent thinking. If everyone can further lay down his burden, clear away the obstacles and think independently, the whole nation can be full of vitality. The collective wisdom of the Chinese nation will certainly become inexhaustible.

CS0: 4004

LOOKING AT THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM FROM A HISTORICAL AND DIALECTICAL POINT OF VIEW—STARTING WITH A STATEMENT BY ENGELS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 26-29

[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932] and Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] In his letter written in August 1890, Engels answered (Otto Berni's) questions on socialism: "I believe that the so-called 'socialist society' is not immutable. Just like other social systems, it should be regarded as ever changing and transforming." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 443) Today, when we are transforming and improving our party and state systems and speeding up socialist modernization, it is very enlightening and a matter of educative significance to review Engels' famous exposition on socialist society.

The socialist system already has a history of more than 60 years since its establishment in the world. We have been pursuing the socialist system for 30 years or so in our country. However, the problem of whether we should regard the socialist system as a process which is ever reforming and improving or regard it as an immutable one has not been completely solved. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, our party, cadres and masses have summed up experiences of the past 30 years following the founding of the People's Republic and have especially drawn bitter lessons from the 10 chaotic years. We have deeply realized that our present leadership system of the party and state and other systems are manifestly imperfect and that there are a number of severe shortcomings and defects which should be conscientiously corrected. Carrying out such a reform is an objective need for bringing the superiority of the socialist system into full play and developing socialist modernization. However, some comrades are surprised to learn that we are planning to reform the party and state systems or have failed to understand why we should do so. Some even wrongly think that such an act will bring shame on our socialist system and hamper and negate it. Influenced by such a state of mind, they will not be able to become promoters of reform. To raise our consciousness and initiative in reforming and improving our party and state systems and to learn to look at the socialist system from a historical and dialectical point of view is a matter of vital importance to correctly understand the following relationships:

First, we should correctly understand the relationships between the basic political and economic systems of socialism and various specific systems.

Just like other social things and systems, socialism has its own process of historical development. Socialism, as the most advanced social system in human history, is characterized by its elimination of all kinds of exploitation. Socialism intends to eliminate not only exploiting classes but also class differences. Therefore, in the process of development of socialist society, a more complicated and more profound historical situation will inevitably occur. The establishment of the basic political and economic systems of socialism only marks the beginning, not the end, of the process of development of the socialist system. The establishment of the basic political and economic systems of socialism does not mean that problems concerning the specific political, economic and cultural organizational forms and management system under socialism have all been solved. The establishment of basic systems is one matter, but the establishment of specific organizational forms and a management system is another. In addition, the establishment of a series of specific systems which are effective and consistent with the basic system of socialism calls for a protracted process of struggle characterized by constant practice and incessant exploration, because there are no set rules concerning the specific organizational forms of socialist politics, economy and culture and management system that we can follow. Apart from that, we should not just pursue a single pattern. This was where our previous lesson lay. In other words, we oversimplified the establishment of the socialist system. After the establishment of the basic political and economic systems, we failed to expeditiously establish and improve various specific systems in accordance with the requirements of the basic systems. In some cases, although we adopted some specific systems, they were based mainly on certain patterns of foreign countries or on old practices followed during the special historical period of revolutionary war. They were not in accordance with the present objective reality of socialist construction. For instance, we pursued a leadership system characterized by overconcentration of power in the fields of politics, economy and culture. Such was also the case with our management system. This was one problem. Another problem was that a number of specific systems urgently needed by the development of the socialist cause, such as various concrete forms, procedures, institutions and systems which socialist democratic politics required and the rules and regulations for the selection, appointment, examination, supervision, reward, punishment, dismissal and retirement of cadres, were not established systematically and gradually over a long period of time. This caused our socialist system to be imperfect and incomplete and hampered the promotion of its advantages. Therefore, we should solve the two problems quoted above and do a good job of carrying out our reform. Of course, the basic political and economic systems of socialism need constant improvement and development in the process of practice.

Second, we should correctly understand the relationships between the improvement of the socialist system and the elimination of the pernicious influence of the old society.

The socialist system was not established in a vacuum. Its establishment cannot be separated from the social conditions and foundation of the old society. Ours was a feudal society with a history of more than 2,000 years which did not undergo an independent and fully developed stage of capitalism. Our socialism emerged from the womb of semifeudal and semicolonial society in old China. The tradition of feudalism has been deeply rooted in all spheres and all aspects of

our social political life. Over a long period of time in the past we lacked a necessary and sober understanding of this problem. A number of comrades wrongly thought that we had established a brandnew socialist system after overthrowing the feudal political and economic systems and that the new system should have been immune from the pernicious influence of feudalism. Historical practice has told us that it is an unrealistic and leftist fantasy to regard socialism as a perfectly pure social system. Lenin said: Such an act "was actually tantamount to a fantasy of hanging the socialist world in midair." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 403) The establishment of the socialist system cannot or does not necessarily mean an immediate elimination of the pernicious influence of the old society and all social conditions which the feudal remnant influence relied upon for its existence. This pernicious influence will continue to exist over a fairly long period of time and corrode and adversely affect people's minds, including those of leading members. In addition, such ideological corrosion and influence inevitably will be reflected in and infiltrate the new system, because the new system was established and implemented by people. In the past, many comrades thought that the pernicious influence of the old society could only adversely affect people's minds, moral characters and work style but would not infiltrate the socialist system. Such thinking did not conform to objective reality. Through the practices of the past 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic and actual facts during the 10 chaotic years in particular, people have increasingly realized the harm brought about by the pernicious influence of feudalism to the leadership system of the state and party. We are now facing the problems of bureaucratism, overconcentration of power, patriarchy, the system of lifelong tenure for leading cadres and privileges in the leadership system of the party and state and cadre system, as well as drawbacks in the management methods used in the economic management system, such as "government-run industry, commerce and agriculture." Do these defects not fully reflect that the pernicious influence of feudalism has infiltrated our system to a certain extent? Our present efforts to eliminate the pernicious influence of feudalism are important and practical steps for reforming and improving our socialist system. Only through a process of constant elimination of the pernicious influence of the old society and self-regulation as well as self-renewal can the socialist system be developed and perfected.

Third, we should correctly understand the relationship between the perfection of the socialist system and the mastery of objective law.

The gradual perfection of the socialist system is closely connected with our increasingly enlarged understanding of the laws governing the development of socialism. The establishment of the basic political and economic systems of socialism has created favorable conditions for us to practically explore the laws governing the development of socialism. However, this does not mean that we already have a full and perfect understanding of the laws governing the development of socialism and that we no longer have an erroneous understanding of socialism. People's understanding of the laws governing society cannot be accomplished at a single attempt. Correct knowledge can only be arrived at after many repetitions and a series of setbacks. This is also the case with our understanding of the laws governing the development of socialist society. Socialism has a very short history in both China and the world. People's understanding of the laws governing the development of socialist society is still at

an initial and primitive stage. Naturally, a socialist system established under such conditions cannot be a perfect one. Basically speaking, the perfection or imperfection and completeness or incompleteness of the socialist system is determined by its conformity to the objective laws governing the development of socialist society or by the degree to which it conforms to these laws. In over 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic we have suffered setbacks in our understanding and mastery of the laws governing the development of socialist society, from which we have drawn a bitter lesson. We have made mistakes mainly in the following two aspects: First, we failed to respect objective laws and frequently replaced objective laws with personal will and replaced the authority of objective laws with personal authority. Second, we took the practice of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "keeping politics in command of everything" as a unique and absolute "law" which governed the whole of social life. In so doing we gave up and pushed aside our exploration and study of the laws governing the development of socialist politics, economy and culture. The severe defects in our political and democratic systems and the management system of our economic and cultural undertakings are directly connected with our erroneous attitude and understanding of objective law. Our present efforts to reform the party and state systems precisely reflect the demands of objective law and our further understanding of the relationships between the perfection of the socialist system and the mastery of objective law. The practice of upholding socialism is absolutely consistent with our efforts to reform and perfect the party and state systems in accordance with the demands of the laws governing the development of socialist society. Only through efforts to reform and perfect the party and state systems can the great vitality and vigor of the socialist system be preserved. If we fail to do so and fail to change and actively reform those parts of our party and state systems which have been proved to be inconsistent with objective law, the practice of upholding the socialist system will become nothing but empty talk. In so doing we will distort socialism and hamper its prospects for development.

Fourth, we should correctly understand the relationships between the perfection of the socialist system and the absorption of all previous democratic and scientific as well as progressive factors accumulated by society.

The socialist system is different in nature from all exploiting systems. The complete negation of exploiting systems and the elimination of their remnant influence are the preconditions for the establishment and development of the socialist system. However, this does not mean that we should reject all progressive factors accumulated by previous societies, particularly capitalist society. Absorbing all progressive factors is an indispensable condition for the perfection of the socialist system itself. Lenin pointed out: "Whether socialism can be realized is determined by the way we combine the Soviet regime and the Soviet management institutions with the latest and most progressive elements of capitalism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 237) He added: "We cannot envisage socialism other than that which is based on the experience of the great capitalist culture." (Ibid., p 285) Lenin's remarks embody profound truths. The socialist economy is a unity of socialist public ownership and socialized large-scale production equipped with modern science and technology. We should not only utilize general economic laws applicable to any organized large-scale production of society, but also frequently assimilate and

utilize a number of specific experiences, forms and means adopted by capitalist enterprises and countries in organizing and managing their modern production and developing and applying their science and technology. Only thus can we enrich and perfect specific forms and systems of our socialist economic and enterprise management. Socialist politics is democratic politics characterized by the fact that the people are masters of their own affairs. Over a process of several thousand years, democracy, as a historical phenomenon, has kept changing its forms right from its embryonic stage, with the ruling classes jockeying for position. In other words, democracy at different historical stages has been characterized by different nature, forms and extent. There is no doubt that socialist democracy has more varied forms, greater extent and wider popularity than capitalist democracy. However, historically speaking, capitalist democracy is a big step ahead of the feudal autocratic system in terms of development. Certain specific forms and processes of capitalist democracy were the results of the protracted struggle of the proletariat and laboring people against the bourgeoisie. They are useful in our efforts to develop socialist democracy, and we should on no account reject and abandon them. Particularly in a country such as ours, where historically the democratic tradition is slight and the autocratic tradition is deeply rooted, it is all the more necessary for us to make use of and assimilate the useful parts of the specific experience, forms and processes of capitalist democracy, including certain specific experiences for the management of state and social life. This is where our past lesson lies. In other words, we failed to sufficiently utilize and assimilate all the progressive factors of capitalist society accumulated throughout history. We even rejected them as historical rubbish and sewage. Now we should conscientiously draw a lesson in this respect, so that our socialist system will be gradually perfected in the process of assimilating the progressive factors of various countries in the world.

In the above passages we only discuss ideologically how to view the socialist system from a historical and dialectical point of view, so that people will raise their consciousness to reform and perfect the party and state systems. It is an extremely arduous and complicated task to reform and perfect the party and state systems. Apart from surmounting ideological barriers, we should make considerable efforts to remove various obstacles and unremittingly carry out investigation and study. We should also sum up historical experiences acquired at home and abroad and pool the wisdom and creativity of the masses, so that we can work out specific reform plans which conform to the actual situation and the interests of the people. This is, of course, work which requires painstaking efforts and creativity. However, as long as our cadres and masses emancipate their minds in their respective places of work, enhance their revolutionary vigor and carry out their work boldly and firmly, our socialist system will be gradually perfected, become more and more consistent with the objective laws governing the development of socialist society and increasingly enhance its advantages.

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QUESTIONS OF REVOLUTION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OUGHT TO BE DECIDED BY THE PARTIES AND PEOPLE CONCERNED--STUDYING WORKS BY MARX AND ENGELS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EACH NATION'S PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 30-33

[Article by Xu Junji [6079 0193 1015] and Wang Xingbin [3769 5281 2430]]

[Text] Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, were the first ones to raise the great slogan "Working men of all countries, unite!" They urged the workers of various countries to carry forward the internationalist spirit and to support, cooperate with, help and learn from each other in the struggle against the international bourgeoisie and for the emancipation of mankind. Moreover, they also advocated letting the workers of various countries and their political parties decide and handle questions of revolution in their own countries independently. Marx and Engels always discussed and studied questions of theory and tactics concerning the workers movement with the socialists and leaders of workers parties of various countries by assuming an attitude of consultation on the basis of equality. They never imposed their views on others. Thus, they set a brilliant example for the international communist movement. We must study and discuss the principle and practice of self-determination for each nation's workers party as advanced by Marx and Engels and inherit and carry forward this fine tradition. This is of practical significance in correctly handling the relations between the communist parties of various countries and promoting the international communist movement.

The First International (the International Working Men's Association) was a united organization of the workers of various countries which adhered to the principle of democratic centralism under the leadership of Marx and Engels. The General Council of the association energetically promoted solidarity and ties between the workers of various countries and gave guidance to the branches and unions in these countries. At the same time, it attached great importance to giving full scope to the creative initiative of the branches in various countries, giving them the power of self-determination in mapping out tactics of struggle and in electing and assigning responsible persons. Marx and Engels sternly refuted time and again the slander concocted by the international reactionaries about the International's General Council issuing secret instructions to workers of various countries and telling them to rise in rebellion. They declared that the General Council was true to the principle of autonomy and sovereignty for all peoples, that it had no right to impose its will on others and did not intend to do so. Referring to the question of how the International Working Men's Association

worked hand in hand with the workers of various countries to achieve the economic emancipation of the working class through the seizure of political power, Marx emphatically pointed out: "The means to the end should be a choice left for the working class of the country concerned to make. The International will not issue any orders on this question; it may not even make any suggestions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 17, p 683)

After the 1870's Marx and Engels became the acknowledged leaders of the advanced workers in Europe and in the Americas. Leaders of various socialist parties constantly wrote to them about questions of theory and tactics concerning the movement. Marx and Engels always made suggestions and, in the capacity of ordinary fighters, discussed things with these leaders. In May 1880, Marx and Engels agreed to help the French workers party draw up a constitution at the request of its leader, Guesde. Guesde accepted the theoretical part of the program dictated by Marx but did not fully accept Marx' suggestions concerning the specific demands of struggle. Some inappropriate points were retained. Marx did not force Guesde to make amendments as Marx had suggested. He also opposed the idea of mentioning his name in a party program, maintaining that a party should avoid making the big mistake of relying on any single person. Summing up the relations between Marx and the workers movements of various countries, Engels pointed out: "Because Marx has scored such great achievements in theory and in practice, the most outstanding persons of workers movements in different countries all have faith in him. They all turn to him at the most crucial moments and always find his suggestions to be the best.... Therefore, Marx did not impose his opinions, least of all his will, on others. It was these people who came to him for advice. The special and exceedingly important influence that Marx had over the movement was built on this basis." (Ibid., Vol 35, pp 224-225)

It was the same with Engels. The more advanced his age and the higher his prestige in the international workers movement, the more he paid attention to treating the party leaders of various countries as equals and abided by the principle of letting each nation's party handle and decide its own questions of revolution independently. In the 1880's and 1890's some socialists in Russia repeatedly asked Engels to comment on the issues in the Russian revolution, but he always gave them to understand that he was not in a position to state his views and pass judgment on these issues because he knew very little about Russia's history and present condition. In April 1891 a Polish revolutionary asked Engels for his views on questions concerning his party. In his letter of reply, Engels said he had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish party. In 1893, when differences emerged within the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, Engels wrote a letter to the party's Executive Committee. In this letter he said that it was not his mission to interfere in the internal conflicts of this party and that he hoped the differences within the Hungarian party would be ironed out during the party's second congress.

It was not just out of modesty that Marx and Engels advocated letting each nation's party decide its own questions of revolution and assumed an attitude of equality in holding consultations with these parties. The important thing is that this shows the creative initiative demonstrated by the proletarian revolutionary teachers in the making of history and how they trusted, relied on and respected the masses. They always regarded historical activities as the cause

of the masses, held that the emancipation of the working class could only be won by the working class itself through self-reliance and denied that there was any savior standing above the masses. Proletarians of all countries must support each other in their struggle for emancipation. However, victory in a country's revolution can only be won by its people under the leadership of the proletarian political party; it will not come as a favor from others. Proletarian political parties of various countries must learn from each other, absorb the successful experience of others and avoid making the mistakes that others have made. However, a party can only mold and formulate its own program, line and tactics in the course of struggle. The correct program, line and tactics of a party must be put into effect by its members and masses in the course of struggle. Similarly, an erroneous program, line or tactic must be recognized and rectified by the party members and masses themselves, not by anyone else. In January 1894 Engels wrote "The Future Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party" at the request of the Italian Socialist Party. In this article he pointed out: The principle governing the tactics of the proletarian political party as discussed in the "Communist Manifesto" is entirely correct, "but how to apply it to Italy's present conditions is something else. This has to be decided in line with local conditions and by the people living in the midst of such events." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 518)

Letting each nation's party decide its own questions of revolution independently is determined by the fundamental principle which combines the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the concrete practices of revolution in various countries. In order to do this, the proletarian political parties of various countries must carry out detailed investigation and study, understand the history and present condition of their country, proceed from reality and apply the fundamental tenets of Marxism to map out lines and tactics suited to their country's condition. The "Communist Manifesto" pointed out a long time ago: The practical application of the principles of scientific communism will depend everywhere and at all times on the historical conditions of the time. Due to differences in historical traditions, social system and economic development, the road and tactics followed by each country in its quest for socialism cannot be completely the same. Marx said: "The workers will have to seize political power and set up a new labor organization sooner or later.... However, we have never asserted categorically that the same across-the-board measure must be adopted in order to attain this goal. We understand that we must take into consideration the system, customs and traditions of different countries." (Ibid., Vol 18, p 179) Engels resolutely opposed pursuing a single pattern and tactic in the international workers movement. He said: "It is preposterous to try to make all countries adopt a unified form of movement." (Ibid., Vol 38, p 519) He admonished the socialists of all countries time and again that only by following its own specific and often tortuous path can a country mobilize its masses. Only the party and the masses who are engaged in their nation's revolutionary struggle can truly understand their country's condition. No international organization or individual far removed from these countries can fully understand the changing conditions there. Engels never considered himself to be a man with keen insight who knows everything. In November 1894 a member of the Armenian Social Party asked Engels to write a preface to the Armenian edition of the "Communist Manifesto" and to discuss his views on the country's revolution. Engels frankly replied that he was not in a position to make comments because he did not understand the Armenian language and knew nothing about the country.

In the process of combining the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the concrete practices of revolution in different countries, Engels greatly emphasized that it was impermissible to regard Marxism as an immutable dogma. Socialists of all countries must creatively apply and develop Marxism under the historical conditions of their own countries. Engels time and again sternly criticized the German socialists residing in the United States for "approaching Marxism from a theoretical and dogmatic point of view, thinking that they can cope with everything if they have learned it by rote. To them, this is a dogma rather than a guide to action." (Ibid., Vol 36, p 566) Engels also told the Russian socialists that he hoped they would ponder problems in the light of their own conditions as Marx did, rather than mechanically quoting his and Marx' words. It is only in this sense that the term "Marxist" has the right to exist.

Letting each nation's party decide its own questions of revolution is also a fundamental requirement of proletarian internationalism. Marx and Engels always maintained that workers of all countries should support each other and work in coordination in the struggle to oppose the international bourgeoisie. They also maintained that in an international union it was necessary to respect the self-determination and independence of each nation's party. Engels pointed out: "The emancipation of the proletariat can only be an international cause." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 87) At the same time, he also pointed out: "Anyhow, the proletarian international movement is only possible within the framework of independent nations." (Ibid., Vol 35, p 261) Engels also said profoundly: "An international union can only exist between nations. The existence of these nations and their self-determination and independence in the handling of international affairs is embodied in the concept of internationalism." (Ibid., Vol 39, p 84) Obviously, any argument which excludes national self-determination and independence from the connotation of internationalism is a betrayal of this principle.

Engels held that according to the principle of proletarian internationalism all workers parties of the international communist movement are equal and independent. Here the relationship between those who lead and those who are led, between those who command and those who are commanded, does not arise. No party has the right to order other parties about or to interfere in other parties' internal affairs. Engels once criticized some French socialists for posing as liberators of the world and thinking that they had the "right of primogeniture" to lead the international workers movement. He pointed out that this kind of chauvinistic idea had hindered the development of the movement. In making preparations for the setting up of the Second International, Engels again warned the leaders of the French Workers Party which sponsored the Paris International Socialist Congress: "Now, you must take care not to assume the posture of trying to give orders to the socialists of other countries." (Ibid., Vol 37, p 157) About the German party which then stood in the forefront of the international workers movement, Engels said: "It has no right to speak on behalf of the proletariat of Europe, particularly no right to make erroneous utterances." (Ibid., Vol 34, p 121)

As can be seen from the history of the international communist movement in the past 130 years and more, particularly in the more than 30 years since World War II, the revolutionary cause of the people can advance from victory to victory only when different proletarian political parties and socialist countries support

each other on the basis of proletarian internationalism and uphold the principle of self-determination and consultation on the basis of equality. Otherwise, revolution will come to a standstill, go backwards or even meet with defeat.

The present state of the international communist movement is quite different from what it was when Marx and Engels were alive. At that time the movement was confined to Europe and the Americas. Now it has spread to all corners of the world. It is now much broader in scale and much richer in content, but the circumstances are also much more complicated. Thus, it is no longer necessary or possible to establish proletarian international organizations like the First, Second or Third Internationals. Under such circumstances, it is all the more necessary for the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries to proceed from the specific conditions of their own countries, to apply and develop the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and to independently and creatively formulate programs, lines and tactics in the light of their national characteristics. Only in this way can we push forward the vigorous development of the international communist movement. Thus, it is very enlightening to study again the important expositions of Marx and Engels on letting the workers parties of all countries decide their own questions of revolution independently.

Soviet social imperialism flaunted the signboard of "socialism" and wantonly trampled upon the principle of equality, independence and self-determination between parties of various countries. Relying on its economic and military strength, it stretched out its claws everywhere in a vain attempt to bring the international communist movement into the orbit of its quest for world domination. It brazenly declared: "Self-determination is not a part of party policy"; "It is only the mode and method of this party's relationship with other parties." As everyone knows, the principle of self-determination for each nation's party embraces not only the interrelationship between parties of various countries but also the right of every party to decide the line, principles and policy of each party in its revolution. If this principle of self-determination does not include the latter and each nation's party takes instructions from a certain foreign party or command center, is there any "self-determination" left? Moreover, the Soviet leadership clique even clamored that "in order to establish genuine self-determination the communist parties of all countries must maintain effective unity" with the Soviet Union; otherwise, "it would mean being at the beck and call of the class enemy." They declared that with its "unique" experience the Soviet Union "naturally becomes the beacon light of revolutionary movements throughout the world." They required the party and people of all countries to follow their baton, denied them their right to proceed from their countries' actual conditions in exploring and mapping out their road and tactics for the pursuit of socialism, and accused those parties which decided on their country's revolutionary road independently rather than following the Soviet pattern of practicing "anti-Sovietism" and "nationalism." Flaunting the banner of "proletarian internationalism" and under the pretext of "supporting revolution," they carried out infiltration and expansion everywhere and even sent troops to occupy other nations' territories and subvert other nations' governments. As proved by numerous facts, the deeds of the Soviet leadership clique have long betrayed Marxism and proletarian internationalism; they are typical of hegemonism.

During the period of the democratic revolution our party resisted erroneous ideas from the Communist International and from Stalin on more than one occasion. Based on the fundamental tenets of Marxism and proceeding from China's historical conditions, it found that the revolutionary road of establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and encircling the cities from the countryside carried the revolution through to the end and finally won a nationwide victory. Since the 1950's our party has been waging a resolute struggle side by side with other Marxist-Leninist political parties against the big-nation chauvinism and hegemonism of the Soviet leadership clique. However, during the "Great Cultural Revolution" Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng banded together in their conspiracy to usurp party and state power and to drive a wedge into our party's relations with other fraternal parties.

They proclaimed themselves "the center of world revolution" and "the standard" and judged the nature of other parties—Marxist-Leninist or revisionist—according to whether they supported the "Great Cultural Revolution" and their ultra-leftist line. They even said that "the road of Jinggangshan can take us everywhere," described the road of encircling the cities from the countryside as a "universal law" suitable for all countries and denied that each nation's party must set out from reality and select the revolutionary path suited to the conditions of its own country. After smashing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, we repudiated their ultraleftist line, held the banner of proletarian internationalism higher than before and strengthened our unity with other Marxist-Leninist political parties on the basis of equality, self-determination and mutual respect. Based on our country's historical and national characteristics, our party is now assimilating the useful experience of other countries and is searching for our own road to socialist modernization by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands. In international contacts and international activities, our party earnestly adheres to the principle of complete independence and self-determination for each nation's party and opposes any form of international center, any form of subordinate relationship and any interference in the internal affairs of other countries' parties and peoples, especially all expressions of hegemonism by Soviet social imperialism.

After studying the works of Marx and Engels on the principle of self-determination for each nation's party and reviewing the historical experience of the international communist movement, we now realize profoundly that the interrelationship of communist parties must be based on proletarian internationalism. Communist parties must support and learn from each other and at the same time uphold the principle of complete equality and self-determination. Questions of revolution in various countries can only be decided by the parties and peoples concerned. Any act of issuing orders to other parties and countries and interfering in the internal affairs of other parties and countries is a deviation from Marxism and is therefore incompatible with proletarian internationalism.

THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO HAVE YOUR OWN VOICE--COMMENTING ON THE ARTISTIC
CHARACTERISTICS OF CREATIONS BY YOUNG WRITER FENG JICAI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 pp 34-38

[Article by Huang Zexin [7806 3419 2450] and Fang Bojing [2455 0130 2417]]

[Text] Comrade Feng Jicai came on the literary scene after the smashing of the "gang of four." In late 1977 he published the long historical novel "Yihequan" (which he co-authored with Li Dingxing) and thus began to achieve fame. Later he wrote another long historical novel, "Magic Lamp" (Vol I), and a movie script with the same title. After that he focused his work on portraying contemporary life, publishing three novellas—"Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road," "Ah!" and "Struggles Against the Cold"—and seven short stories, including "The Call of Justice" and "A Carved Pipe," making a total literary production of more than 1 million characters. Such achievements in a short span of around 3 years fully show that Feng Jicai is a hard-working and talented writer.

Famous Russian realist writer Dostoyevskiy once said that for a real artist "the important thing is to have something which I dare to call my own voice.... The important thing is to have a lively, unique and very personal voice. This voice cannot be produced from any other person's throat." Feng Jicai is a new writer; he is still in the process of developing his artistic expression. Yet the commendable thing is that he has already shown some unique characteristics. He makes us feel that he is a writer with his own voice: he has his own understanding of life and his own pursuit of art. He strives to portray the true features of the times with his unique artistic techniques.

I

When we say that the works of Feng Jicai have his own voice, we mean that this voice is expressed primarily in the originality and uniqueness of his artistic conception. The most important thing in art is uniqueness. Unique artistic conception is not only necessary for the portrayal of the rich and colorful real life but can also enhance the artistic charm of the works. No artist worthy of his name will never ape other people at every step. He would strive to open up new roads and break new ground in the realm of art. Feng Jicai has taken this positive and serious attitude toward artistic creation.

Those who have read "Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road" must have felt that this novella, belonging to the category of the so-called "literature of the

scarred," had its own outstanding profundity and uniqueness among works of the same category. The novella tells the story of a 17-year-old girl, Bai Hui, who plunged into the "Great Cultural Revolution" with "sincere and pure" revolutionary motives. After one criticism meeting, she furiously struck a female teacher who was considered to be a "diehard counterrevolutionary" with a stick. When the teacher fell as a result of the blow, she was a bit scared and disturbed. Later she got to know a young man named Chang Ming, who saved her life. Just as the flower of love was about to blossom, she suddenly discovered that Chang Ming's mother was none other than the teacher whom she had beaten. The threads of love were immediately cut off by political struggle. With a deep sense of guilt, Bai Hui went to the Nei Monggol grassland. She tried to make up for her past mistakes by hard work and used Marxism "to comb her tangled thoughts." However, due to the fact that the greatest hidden pest of the party and the state had not been exposed, she could not understand: How can a person do things harmful to the revolution in the name of the revolution? How did her innocent and sincere heart fall into the dark pit of crime, and why was she helpless to pull herself out of the pit? It was only after the fall of the "gang of four" that she came to solve this puzzle: she "had become the cannon fodder of those meanest, craftiest careerists and schemers. She was poisoned by them and led astray." After everything became clear to her, she was filled with guilt and hatred and did not know what to do with herself. However, Chang Ming forgave her. They finally came together and advanced onto "an infinitely broad road filled with sunlight." What makes this story different from others is that it did not deal directly with the various brutal forms of persecution the "gang of four" inflicted on the people and did not emphasize exposing the ugly features of various types of opportunist and reactionary elements. Instead, it portrayed the process of spiritual awakening of a young girl who was fooled by revolutionary slogans to "go astray on a road paved with flowers." It brought out a theme which is of great contemporary significance but which is rarely touched on by other works: the problem of how to correctly understand and treat young people who committed mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution." Quite a number of young people committed different kinds of errors during the "Cultural Revolution." Are they all undesirable or even very bad people? No. "The majority of young people are good." Young people like Bai Hui have pure hearts which were dirtied by the dust of the times. They were fooled and used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" because of their lack of political experience. After they come to their senses they themselves feel ashamed, guilty and sorry. Today we must understand and forgive them and help them to draw useful lessons from their painful experiences.

The "Call of Justice" is a work in praise of the "5 April" Movement. In dealing with this subject the short story did not waste too much time on the evildoings of the "gang of four." Instead, it portrayed the irrepressible noble spirit of justice and fearless spirit of struggle shown from the sidelines during the "5 April" mass movement by portraying how a factory leader was enlightened and moved. Wei Qian—a cadre with "the smell of orthodoxy" who always looked up to instructions from higher authorities as criteria for action—made a total turn-about when the "gang of four" was frenziedly persecuting participants in the "5 April" mass movement on the pretext of investigating counterrevolutionaries. He took a passive, indifferent attitude toward "instructions" from above and later even boycotted and resisted them. Finally, in order to protect the

revolutionary masses from harm, he stood up, lied about his being the author of the so-called "counterrevolutionary" leaflets and thus landed in jail. This plot not only forcefully demonstrates the just and revolutionary nature of the "5 April" Movement but also is different from other works dealing with the same subject. It is quite a refreshing change. The short story also makes use of uncommon literary techniques, and the ending comes as a great surprise. Wei Qian's sacrificing himself to save the masses is an excellent dramatic twist. This plays an important role in stressing the main theme and projecting the personality of the characters.

If "Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road" and "The Call of Justice" were Feng Jicai's experiments with portraying the contemporary monumental struggles, "A Carved Pipe" was his attempt to portray the spiritual world of the working people. Seeing through fleeting human relations during the 10 years of storms and the demonic atmosphere created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," he discovered the purity, simplicity and fine sentiments retained by the working people. Using colorful and lyrical language, he wove these sentiments into a poetic piece of excellent literature. By relating Mr Tang's relationship with the old flower grower, he portrayed the sincerity and profound sentiments of the old flower grower. His pure and kind heart was like a golden chrysanthemum, giving off a sweet fragrance and shining with a rich halo. The plot of the story was skillfully thought up. The author did not follow the usual formula, which portrays the character in intense conflict or directly relates the moving deeds of the character. Instead, he showed the beauty of the old flower grower's spiritual world by giving an account of the observations and reactions of the painter, Mr Tang. This technique is somewhat similar to Lu Xun's "A Minor Incident." The old flower grower and the painter had only very few contacts. Their friendship only went as far as exchanging presents in the form of chrysanthemums and a carved pipe. Yet the author was able to write a profound and touching story out of this common occurrence. What was his secret? The key lies in the fact that the author did not portray the relationship of these two people in isolation. He put their friendship in the context of the unstable social environment, relating the characters' fate to the society and using the fleeting human relations of the outside world as a contrast. This enables a common story of friendship to acquire unusual significance. He not only clearly sketched out the old flower grower's kind and noble heart but also presented a picture of social customs and practices at that time.

Feng Jicai is bold in his artistic creation. He always engages in artistic contemplation based on his own feelings and understanding of life. Therefore, his choice of subjects, elaboration of themes and building up of the plots bear the mark of his unique characteristics.

II

Feng Jicai's unique voice is also heard through his skillful portrayal of the characters' psychological state. The portrayal of man is the core of artistic creation. It is impossible to create a character with depth without adequate insight into his psychological state. In the past few years, many middle-aged and young writers have made serious explorations into the content and form of psychological description and left the mark of their individuality. Then what are the unique characteristics of Feng Jicai's descriptions of mental activities?

In our opinion, he is best at describing the effects of social contradictions on the character's inner world. The author once said that he would strive to make his works attain the high standard of the times. In terms of character portrayal, he has been seriously doing this. He always observes the characters' inner world from the point of view of history and the times. He has learned from real life that people's inner world is like a photosensitive plate. Various elements in social life are all reflected in people's psychology. Intense historical upheavals, complex social contradictions and constantly changing customs and practices all affect people's minds directly or indirectly. Therefore, he never portrays his characters' inner world in isolation or in a static state, but always puts the characters in a specific environment and concentrates on portraying the marks left by the class, the times and society on people's minds. On the other hand, from the description of people's minds, a refracted image of the happenings of the times is formed.

The character Wu Zhongyi in "Ah!" is a typical example. He "has a firm grasp of knowledge and is serious and diligent in his work." He has always been cautious in words and deeds and always abides by the rules and regulations. Yet such an honest and well-behaved person was almost criticized and attacked as a rightist just because he said something that was not very appropriate in 1957. Therefore, he has become a nervous person. When people's backgrounds were being checked and all remote and recent past history was being reinvestigated during the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was practically trembling with fear and was always all nerves. The author gave a very meticulous description of his psychological state, of the process of his psychological change and of the social factors that brought about this situation. For example, one day Wu Zhongyi was in the courtyard helping others put up big-character posters. When he turned his head his eyes "met the cold, piercing eyes" of Jia Dazhen, the lackey of the "gang of four." Those eyes were like two shining, sharp swords. He was scared out of his wits. "'Pak!' he dropped his bucket of paste and the paste was spilled all over the ground." Another time, during a criticism meeting, Jia Dazhen was shouting and indiscriminately dragging out people for criticism. Wu Zhongyi was so scared that "his hands turned ice cold. He was shaking all over, and the sticky cold sweat covered his whole body." Suddenly, Jia Dazhen "banged the table." Wu Zhongyi shivered all over. Unconsciously he grasped someone's arm, betraying his inner fears. Although not too many words were used to make such descriptions of Wu's psychological state, they were very forceful. They presented a vivid picture of Wu Zhongyi's great anxiety during those years when everyone feared for his own safety. The author enables us to see a pitiful soul trembling in a stormy era like a leaf tottering in cold wind. Wu Zhongyi in this novelette is comparable to the junior civil servant in Chekhov's "The Death of a Junior Civil Servant." The death of the junior civil servant indirectly exposed the cruelty of czarist rule, while the weakness of character and inferiority complex and fears of Wu Zhongyi were precisely the result of the "gang of four's" unbridled oppression of people.

Other distinguishing features of the characters' personality, such as the shrewdness of Zhao Chang and the ruthlessness and treachery of Jia Dazhen in "Ah!" and the arrogance and despotism of Zhao Xiong in "Struggles Against the Cold," were all products of their times. Therefore, we can feel a strong sense of the times when reading short stories by Feng Jicai. Of course, relating some historical

incidents and accurately portraying details of daily life and social practices all create a sense of the times; yet this is not quite enough. Simple portrayal could also result in superficiality in picturing social phenomena. It is only through truthful portrayal of the characters, particularly appropriate, truthful portrayal of these characters' inner contradictions, mental activities, changes and conflicts, that works can acquire a distinctive color of the times. The strong sense of the times in Feng Jikai's works is precisely brought out through the portrayal of the spiritual world of the characters.

There is a great deal of psychological description in Feng Jikai's short stories and novels. Yet they are never boring. This has much to do with the great variety of his literary techniques, particularly his skillful portrayal of the inner workings of the characters' minds through the portrayal of their actions. An ancient saying claims that emotions are felt in the heart but expressed outwardly. People all show their feelings subtly or overtly through their actions. Therefore, actions are an important technique to get to the inner world of the characters. Aleksey Tolstoy said: "I always try my best to observe the gestures and actions which show the psychological state of a person. These gestures and actions give me hints to the verbs to be used in describing his mental activities." Naturally, it is much more vivid and picturesque to use the concrete "verbs" that Tolstoy was talking about than to use abstract verbs to portray psychological activities. Both Chinese and foreign classical writers paid great attention to the use of this artistic technique. Feng Jikai seriously absorbed this precious artistic experience. He paid great attention to observing life and is good at catching distinctive actions to portray the characters' minds, thus turning abstract ideas into concrete images. In his unique short story "37 Degrees, Normal," Feng Jikai used the description of actions to expose the inner changes occurring in the "big shot's" mind. When the "big shot" was subjected to persecution and was locked up in jail, he was very ill and was suffering from serious illness. "I"--in the short story Doctor Wu--saved his life. Later, when the policies were implemented, the "big shot" was released from jail. When he first saw the person who saved his life, he was very agitated. He wiped off the dust from the chair with his hands, took a knife and began to peel an apple. Later, when the "big shot" regained his position and saw Doctor Wu again, his attitude changed. He just casually uttered a few pleasantries or "nodded his head." Finally, he "even refused to nod his head as sort of a charitable gesture." In describing the process of change in the relationship between these two people, the author did not use adjectives or value-ridden words like "warm" or "cold," "approachable" or "bureaucratic." The facial expressions and attitude of the "big shot" himself betrayed the changes in his ideas and feelings. With the rise in his position and the increase in his power, his friendship and warmth for Doctor Wu cooled off. Using the author's picturesque expression, the temperature of his feelings dropped from 100 degrees to 0 degrees Celsius.

Together with the description of the characters' actions, the author sometimes directly dissects the complex and mysterious psychology of the characters. Sometimes he makes the characters confess their thoughts. Sometimes he expresses the characters' feelings with fervor, and sometimes he uses his piercing literary style to expose the characters' filthy thoughts. In short, all his descriptions start from reality. He rationally looks at people and events and uses various methods to describe them as he sees fit, thus fully portraying the spiritual world of his characters.

III

Feng Jicai's unique voice contained in his works is also heard through his use of language. When talking about this problem, the author said: "There are two indispensable elements in language: one is emotional while the other is rational. In the emotional aspect the author expresses and lays out his feelings about life in a lyrical manner. It adds to the literary works' power to move the readers. The rational aspect pertains to the author's refinement and condensation of his views and opinions on life and the thoughts he would like to express in his works in a crystallized and meaningful form. This is helpful in bringing out the essence of matters. These two elements must be used together." This statement clearly shows the author's views on literary language and the orientation of his efforts, that is, to make his works highly emotive and at the same time pregnant with profound meaning.

The emotional aspect of his literary language is displayed through the author's skill at using emotion-packed and brightly colored language in sketching an artistic realm wherein human emotions merge with the setting and in instilling his attitude and values toward things and events into his work. Were not the beginning and ending of the novella "Ah!" written in poetic language? The "exceptionally beautiful" spring, the "bright and shining" sunlight and birds "shooting to the sky" stood in sharp contrast to the intense struggle in the historical research institute, the stifling atmosphere and the people who had lost their freedom. An irrepressible resentment permeates every line. In Chapter 4, part 2 of "Going Astray on a Flower-Paved Road," the author used the description of the magnificent, sprawling Great Wall to express fervent love for the motherland and hatred of villains in history. The novella said: "It is the symbol of the Chinese people." "It possesses great wisdom, courage and imagination. It has an infinitely bold, diligent, enduring and mysterious creative power. It is a miracle of humankind. No force can revive its original look, yet no force can destroy it either. Those buffoons who humiliated and belittled it will ultimately die an ignominious death at its foot." This powerful language harmoniously blended with the characters' surging emotions.

In portraying his characters the author also instills his own feelings into his pen. He uses language of various timbres and colors to show his varying attitudes toward his characters. For example, there is his description of faction head Hao Jianguo's skills at conducting provocative propaganda: "He is always emotion filled and provocative. He could call into action passers-by who are total strangers and build a fire out of stones." At first glance this seems to be an affirmation of Hao's propaganda skills, yet in reality this is a stinging satire on his wagging tongue. In the same piece there is a descriptive passage which runs like this: "Now, the agitated atmosphere had entered people's heads like hot air. Their brain cells swelled like fermented flour..." Without any explanation, the readers can easily see that this simile is a metaphorical allusion to the social havoc and poisoning of people's minds brought about by the fanatic political tide stirred up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It demonstrates the author's feeling of abomination.

Of course, we are not saying that authors should include long-winded empty discussions in literary works, because too much discussion makes a piece dry and

boring and destroys the integrity of the characters' personality and the continuity of the plot. However, we must not also totally negate discussion in literary work. Good and appropriate discussion usually adds flavor and brings a piece to life. It not only does not affect the charm of the images created but also adds to the ideological color of the piece. Gorkiy once pointed out: "Writers must be good at flowing, compact and meaningful description." Feng Jicai's efforts in this respect are commendable. He does not insert discussions which are divorced from the development of the plot and of the characters' personality. From time to time he puts in a few words in the midst of his narrative or description to inject his views on the times, on society, life, friendship, love and social mores and practices. Some of his opinions show keen insight and are quite inspiring. The following passage was lifted from "Ah!":

Sometimes life forces people to put on an act, wittingly or unwittingly. There are farces that are seriously acted out, and there are serious things which are funny. Sometimes you think that you are a director who manipulates others, yet in reality you are but an actor acting out the part of a director. Then you are the only one to blame, because you have illusions of stepping on other people's heads and achieving a meteoric rise to wealth and power.

This opinion concerns Jia Dazhen. Political work group leader Jia Dazhen was an arrogant despot in the little world of the historical research institute. He thought he was the master of life and the "director" of history. In reality, he was just "an actor acting out the part of a director." The passage was not only a stinging satire on people like Jia Dazhen. It also shows the author's profound understanding of historical development.

Literary language must be picturesque and vivid. It must have its distinctive character. Even rational discussions in literary work must strive to realize this characteristic. The reason why some discussions in Feng Jicai's stories are so eye catching is that he writes them in vivid, picturesque artistic language and rarely uses political jargon. This enables the discussions to blend into the whole literary piece, thus preventing them from being a nuisance, from being cumbersome and abominable. A passage in "Ah!" goes like this: "Two hearts can sometimes immediately merge into one, like two drops of water which combine into one as soon as they touch; yet sometimes they can be as far apart from each other as two planets. When we look from one planet to another, the other planet is wrapped in thick fog. It is mysterious, like a puzzle which is difficult to solve." This discussion used crystal-clear images and contains profound meaning. It inspires people ideologically while also possessing great artistic appeal.

The foregoing points are our most vivid impressions after reading Feng Jicai's works. Although this does not purport to be a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of his works, at least we can see from certain aspects that he has gained preliminary achievement and has ascertained the orientation of his efforts in his artistic undertaking.

Of course, because he is a young writer there still are shortcomings in Feng Jicai's artistic creations. However, as a writer he is diligently exploring

and striving to create his own artistic style in order to make his voice more refreshing and more touching. We believe that, as long as he persists in his efforts and tirelessly studies, explores and improves, Comrade Feng Jicai will certainly reap more fruits in his artistic endeavors. He will certainly be able to create his own outstanding and unique literary style.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF METHANE IS AN IMPORTANT TASK IN SOLVING THE RURAL ENERGY PROBLEM

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[Article by Huang Zhijie [7806 1807 2638] and Zhang Zhengmin [1728 2973 2404]]

[Text] In the past few years, people of all walks of life have been concerned about the energy shortage in our country. However, people usually focus their attention on the problem of the shortage of energy in the cities and overlook shortages in the broad rural areas. At present our country possesses insufficient energy resources in the rural areas. There is a serious shortage of fuel both for production and for people's daily lives. We should pay sufficient attention to the problem of energy in the rural areas. In developing coal, oil and electricity we should at the same time actively tap new energy sources and make great efforts to develop methane. This is a strategic approach to solving the energy problem in the rural areas of our country.

I

For a long time, firewood and crop stalks have been the chief fuels for daily life in the rural areas of our country. Today there are 1.5 billion people throughout the world using this ancient way of burning firewood directly to cook rice—half of them in China. At present there are 170 million peasant households in our country. If we calculate 10 kilograms of firewood as the average daily consumption of each household, 600 million tons are needed each year. But the total quantity of crop stalks produced amounts to just over 400 million tons. After reducing this amount for fodder and industrial raw material, the remainder is far from enough for the needs of the peasants' daily lives. Even if the coal and charcoal supplied to commune members for their daily needs are added, together with the firewood they cut and the dry excrement of livestock they collect, about two-thirds of the peasant households still lack fuel in varying degrees. A large quantity of stalks is burned year after year without the residue being returned to the fields. This results in a decrease of organic matter in the soil and the loss of a large quantity of fertilizing elements such as nitrogen and phosphorus, thus causing great damage to the cycle between the soil and crops. Besides, burning stalks directly also means burning fodder, which in turn causes a shortage of grass for livestock. To solve the fuel shortage problem the peasants fell trees in forests and even dig up grass to use the roots for fuel. This damages the trees and plants in woods and forests and causes a rapid increase of

sand in the soil and soil erosion, thereby unbalancing the ecology. If this phenomenon continues, it will seriously affect the development of our country's agriculture, forestry and husbandry.

Then how can the problem of fuel shortages in the rural areas of our country be solved? If coal alone is used as fuel throughout the rural areas, the amount of coal consumed each year will exceed 250 million tons, and the government will have to spend 40-50 billion yuan to mine and transport such a large quantity of coal. Obviously it will be impossible to do this for quite a long time to come. So the practical and feasible ways are to make the best use of the natural resources in different places, build small hydropower stations, utilize solar energy, plant fuel forests and so on and take the road of using diverse energy sources. Among them, the full utilization of biological energy--preparing and making use of methane--has special significance. It is an important way to solve the fuel shortage problem in the rural areas of our country.

Numerous facts prove that making use of methane in the rural areas can greatly ease the grave fuel shortage there. Shanghai's suburban Qi Xian Commune is one place that has suffered serious fuel shortages. In the past, 70 percent of the peasant households there were short of fuel for more than 4 months of the year. Besides burning crop stalks, they purchased over 1,500 tons of coal each year. After the use of methane became popular, the commune saved over 300,000 jin of stalks in 1978 alone, and the coal it bought that year was 1,000 tons less than before. There are 44 households in a production team in Mian Yang, Sichuan, that lacked 47,000 jin of firewood each year and had to buy 38,000 jin of coal each year. After methane was introduced, the people were able to use it for cooking rice and to provide light for more than 10 months a year. In 3 years they have saved a total of 78,000 jin of coal, 110,000 jin of firewood and 1,700 jin of kerosene.

The reason using methane can save fuel is that the efficiency of burning stalks directly usually does not exceed 10 percent, but when stalks are used for preparing methane the efficiency usually can be raised to about 50 percent. That is to say, if 20 jin of stalks are needed when burning them directly, only 11 or 12 jin will be needed when methane is burned instead. In the preparation of methane a certain amount of human and livestock excrement as well as weeds are needed. Usually, human and livestock excrement would not have been used as fuel, but when put into the methane pit to ferment it can produce a considerable quantity of methane. Using the excrement, only 5 to 6 jin of stalks will be enough to produce fuel for a family of five.

The development of methane can make full use of the stalks' functions as fuel, fodder and fertilizer. It can basically solve the problem of fuel for commune members' daily life in the rural areas, and it can also save a large quantity of stalks for fodder to develop animal husbandry; the liquid and dregs in the methane pit again are fine-quality organic fertilizer which helps to develop agricultural production; after methane has been developed, firewood is no longer cut at random, which also helps to develop forestry; furthermore, human and livestock excrement and weeds are put into pits to ferment, which kills the eggs of parasites and destroying germs, and this is in the interest of the environment and sanitation and of improving the health of the masses. It is clear that

the development of methane is beneficial to the country, beneficial to the collectives and beneficial to the commune members themselves. It has an important bearing on the construction of a socialist new countryside and on speeding up the modernization of agriculture.

II

Methane production involves a complicated heat decomposition process. It is generated by using organic matter such as excrement and urine and crop stalks which are hidden and isolated from air and acted on by anaerobes. Therefore, the development of methane requires certain material and natural conditions. We must take into account the raw material for fermentation, the changes in temperature, the materials for building pits, the technical capability and the demand for developing methane so as to scientifically select the places and focal points for developing methane.

The basic raw materials for producing methane include excrement and urine, stalks, water, weeds, etc. These fermenting raw materials are closely related to the development levels of agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as natural conditions--particularly temperature and rainfall.

Temperature is important in generating methane. The rise or fall of temperature determines the speed of fermentation and the quantity of gas generated. At present the methane pits in the rural areas are all designed for underground fermentation at ambient temperature. Ground temperatures of 10-27 degrees Centigrade are more suitable. Usually no gas or very little gas is generated at temperatures below 10 degrees. The ground temperature changes with regions, seasons or atmospheric temperature. According to temperature records, the rough distribution in our country of the number of months with average monthly atmospheric temperatures above 10 degrees is as follows: Counties with more than 10 months amount to 461, making up 19 percent of the whole country; counties with 8-9 months amount to 538, making up 25 percent; counties with 6-7 months amount to 810, making up 34 percent; counties with less than 5 months amount to 518, making up 22 percent. The vast expanse of land south of the Changjiang River has a mild climate, especially Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, etc. The atmospheric temperatures in these places are suitable for developing methane. Quite a number of regions, particularly Xizang, Qinghai, Heilongjiang, etc., have a severe cold climate. Insulation measures are needed to develop methane.

To produce methane, the first thing to do is to build pits, which requires a large quantity of bricks, stone, sand, lime, cement and other materials. Then there must be a technical contingent with knowledge of methane and ability in construction and management.

In conclusion, to insure the steady development of methane, we must stick to the principle of suiting measures to local conditions and have a clear understanding of the resources of the locality, the temperature, materials for constructing pits, technical conditions and so on. As to what type of pits should be built and what kind of materials should be used, we must suit our measures to local conditions and, in accordance with actual needs and potentials, build pits by stages and in groups and do what we are capable of. We must stress practical

results, consolidate a group after building a group and not make a terrific din or one-sidedly seek quantity. Disregarding objective conditions or popularizing by rigid administrative decree is wrong and will get us nowhere.

III

In past years the promotion and popularization of methane in our country have had some success, but many problems remain unsolved. At present more than 6 million methane pits have been built in the rural areas in our country, but less than 60 percent are in normal use. Of the latter, not too many can often be used to cook rice three times a day, and still less can be used every day for four seasons of the year. In some places the past mistake was repeated. Quick success and instant benefits were sought. The methane pits could generate methane the first year but failed to do so the second and had to be reported as worthless the third. The main reasons were imperfect organization, failure to implement policies or consider materials and expenses, and mismanagement.

In view of these problems, we believe that in the process of developing methane we should pay attention to the following points:

1. Strengthen leadership and develop steadily. Initiating methane production is an important part of the fundamental construction of agriculture. Many things are related to it. It not only influences the development of agriculture, forestry, husbandry and sideline occupation, but also concerns the problem of the commune member's daily life. It involves the problems of construction and technique and also involves the problem of economic policy. It has to do with the allocation of labor power, the supply of materials, and so on and so forth. Therefore, there must be unified and comprehensive planning under the leadership of the people's government at different levels.

An important point in strengthening leadership is to have a sound organization. Special organs should be set up in provinces and counties and special persons should be appointed to have responsibility in communes and production teams. Someone must grasp the work at each level, and someone must manage it in each production team. All relevant government departments, especially departments concerning planning, finance, banking, materials and science and technology, should give their full support. Production team leaders should, without exception, be personally in charge of this task. For the time being, the main target in developing methane should be to solve the problem of fuel and lighting for each and every household. Places and units with necessary conditions can also prepare to try constructing some bigger types of methane pits for solving the problem of power for production in the rural areas.

2. Concentrate the strength and develop a piece at a time. This has been the successful experience of many places in developing methane. Mianyang Municipality was the first place in Sichuan to promote methane. Once it succeeded, it became popular throughout the province. Mianyang Municipality had first concentrated efforts on promoting methane in Yong Xing District. Once this district succeeded, the whole municipality soon popularized it. In Huanggang Prefecture of Hubei, Guangji and Huanggang were first chosen as experimental counties. Manpower, materials and money were concentrated in these two counties, and methane

was developed progressively in one production team after another and one production brigade after another. Such experience proves that concentration of strength and development of a piece at a time are beneficial to strengthening leadership and to building up a contingent of specialized technicians.

3. Respect science and persist in putting quality first. Whether the undertaking of methane can be developed and consolidated or not depends, to a great extent, on assuring the quality of the methane pits. Methane pits should be standardized, systematized and generalized. Building solid and lasting methane pits in keeping with the standard is the foundation for producing methane. So in producing methane we must respect science, pay attention to quality and try our utmost to make each newly built pit a success. With the prerequisite of guaranteeing quality, the costs of building pits can be lowered. However, we cannot one-sidedly emphasize lowering construction costs and should not overemphasize practicing economy so that the quality of the construction of the pits might be affected, thus creating difficulty for management afterwards. Methane technique and service stations have been set up in some places to insure maintenance and repair of methane pits. This is an important measure to guarantee the quality of the pits. In places where conditions are favorable, concrete prefabricated methane pits should be actively recommended. Prefabricated parts should be produced in factories, complete sets should be supplied as commodities and installation and construction should be done in a specialized way. These are of great help in guaranteeing the quality of construction of the pits.

4. Pay attention to drafting and implementing reasonable policies. After methane is employed, methane use by commune members and fertilizer use by the collective are closely related to the interests of the collective and individuals. How to evaluate and fix the amount of work for building pits and for routine maintenance and work points for putting materials and manure into the pits should strictly follow economic laws. Reasonable economic policies should be formulated according to the principles of assessing prices according to quality and paying according to work. According to the investigation by the municipality of Shanghai, more than 10,000 methane pits, constituting 18 percent of the total number of the city's pits, cannot function normally simply because the leaders in some districts disregard proper management of methane. The fertilizer policy was not implemented. After the methane pits were built, no materials were fed into them or the materials were not replaced. Consequently, more than 10,000 methane pits were not functioning properly, which amounts to 18 percent of the total. Some cadres of the production teams believe that methane burns up the "fertilizing effects" and that fertilizer from methane pits is no longer effective, so the work points for putting manure into methane pits are fixed at a very low rate, and the commune members are reluctant to do this work. Some production teams pay no attention to adding and extracting materials from pits, which also affects the replacement of materials in them. There is a production team in Nan Hui County of Shanghai which actively supports commune members' adding materials to pits and appropriately arranges labor to extract or add materials regularly. It also gives reasonable compensation to commune members for the manure they put in and for the labor in putting it in. Consequently, all 25 methane pits in the production team are generating methane, reaching a utilization rate of 100 percent.

5. Strengthen management and do a good job of solving the contradiction between using methane and using fertilizer. "Thirty percent depends on the construction of pits and 70 percent on the management of them." This saying vividly explains the relationship between constructing pits and managing them. If after the commune members have spent money, done work and put in materials the pits are not generating methane normally, it will not only be unable to solve the fuel problem of the masses but also will dampen their enthusiasm. Therefore, after the pits are built, a set of practical and feasible management methods must be laid down. Only when the pits are managed and used well can their effects and advantages be given full play. At present some commune and team cadres' understanding of the importance and complexity of the work of managing methane is insufficient. They often attach importance to construction but are indifferent to management, attach importance to fertilizer but are indifferent to methane, and some even think that using methane conflicts with using fertilizer. In some places, because of lack of planning, all the fertilizer in the methane pits was scooped out for use the moment fertilizer was needed, which stopped the commune members from using methane. All of these problems require serious study and solution.

In the work of managing methane, both the interests of the individuals and the interests of the collective must be considered. Methane pits must be made to serve both agricultural production and the livelihood of the commune members. Use of fertilizer by the collective and of methane by individuals must be combined and handled appropriately. Only with manure can methane be prepared, and only with methane can the sources of fertilizer be enlarged. Only when the commune members are assured of using methane regularly can more stalks be put aside for preparing methane and producing fertilizer and can the quantity and quality of methane and fertilizer be raised. The key point in solving the contradiction between methane and fertilizer is to properly arrange in advance the adding and extracting of materials according to the production seasons. In this way, neither the use of methane nor the use of fertilizer is affected.

The most important measure in strengthening the management of methane is to train managerial personnel for methane and to form a contingent of specialized technicians who are not delegated from other regular work. In the past few years the development of methane in some places has been expedited. An important reason is that they have changed their thinking of attaching importance to construction and disregarding management, have trained a large number of peasant technicians who are capable of constructing and maintaining methane pits and have mastered the technique of using methane, and have strengthened management, thus creating conditions for developing methane rapidly.

6. Strengthen scientific research and raise the level of methane utilization. Methane use is still a newly developed area of science and technology. Many scientific principles need further investigation, and many technical problems need to be solved. We must persist in carrying out scientific tests, raise the level of construction, management and utilization, and try hard to have pits with low construction costs, pits of high quality, pits that can generate more methane and pits that can be used all year round. From the standpoint of popularizing methane use, we must now study and solve the problem of mechanization in extracting materials from methane pits, the problem of standardization in building pits, the problem of generating methane in winter and the problem of giving greater assurances for the use of methane. The further strengthening of scientific research work will permit even faster methane development in our country and enable methane to make a greater contribution to the modernization of agriculture.

DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR POWER GENERATION IS ONE WAY TO SOLVE THE ENERGY PROBLEM

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[Text] The energy problem is a world problem. Many countries, including some developing ones, have now taken the vigorous exploitation and utilization of nuclear energy as a strategic policy to solve the energy problem. Nuclear energy is playing an increasingly important role in the world's structure of energy resources. Our country needs a great deal of energy for its four modernizations. The energy problem is of primary importance in the four modernizations. According to the experiences of many countries and the concrete conditions in our country, our country's energy planning should not only stress exploitation and utilization of fossil fuels, such as petroleum, natural gas and coal, and waterpower resources, but also pay close attention to studying, exploiting and utilizing nuclear energy. This article attempts to give a brief introduction to the technical and economic characteristics of nuclear energy, the general situation of the world's development of nuclear power generation and the necessity and possibility of developing nuclear power generation in our country.

I. Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Power Plants

Nuclear energy is also known as atomic energy. It is the energy released when the structure of the atomic nucleus undergoes a change. There are two kinds of nuclear energy: the first is the energy released by a heavy element (such as uranium and plutonium) when its atomic nucleus undergoes fission reaction; the second is the energy released by a light element (such as deuterium and tritium, which are isotopes of hydrogen) when its atomic nucleus undergoes fusion reaction.

In a fission reaction the atomic nucleus of uranium-235 is bombarded by a neutron, splits into two lighter atomic nuclei and at the same time gives out energy and 2 or 3 neutrons of a new generation. The collision of neutrons of a new generation with other atomic nuclei of uranium causes a new fission reaction. This process goes on and causes a chain reaction, so that it is possible to continuously "ignite" large numbers of atomic nuclei and release a great deal of energy.

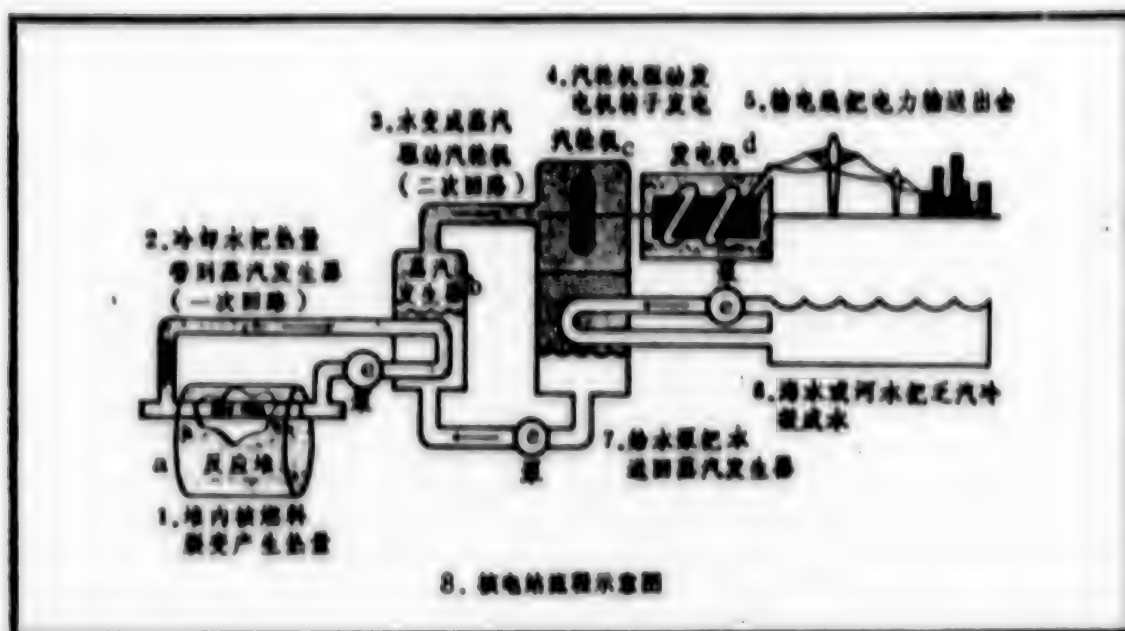
In a fusion reaction, deuterium and tritium are treated by heat and stripped of their atoms, which become electrons and ions and form a high-temperature plasma. When the electrons and ions fuse to become helium, they will release neutrons and a great deal of energy.

Nuclear energy is different from chemical energy. Chemical energy is the energy released by atoms when a chemical combination takes place between the atoms. But the nuclei of these atoms do not undergo a change. Nuclear energy is the energy released when the structure of atomic nuclei undergoes a change (fission or fusion). The binding force between particles (neutrons and protons) in an atomic nucleus is much greater than that between atoms. The amount of energy released in a nuclear reaction is therefore several million times greater than that released in a chemical reaction. For example, the amount of energy released by a kilogram of uranium-235 is roughly equal to the amount of energy released by 2,400 tons of standard coal. A thermoelectric powerplant generating 1 million kilowatts of electric power needs 3 to 4 million tons of raw coal a year, or 8 trainloads of coal every day. A nuclear powerplant of the same scale needs 28 tons of uranic fuel containing 3 percent of uranium-235, or 130 tons of natural uranic fuel a year. It goes without saying that energy-intensive nuclear fuels are superior by far to fossil fuels as far as extraction and transportation are concerned.

In order to make controllable use of nuclear energy, people have invented the nuclear reactor. In the power generation system the nuclear reactor acts as the boiler. A nuclear powerplant differs from a thermoelectric powerplant in that the latter obtains heat by burning fossil fuel in the boiler while the former acquires heat through the fission of nuclear fuel in the reactor. The diagram on the following page shows the operational principles of a nuclear powerplant.

There are many types of nuclear reactors. A modern nuclear powerplant is usually equipped with a light water reactor or a heavy water reactor which uses uranium dioxide as fuel. Uranium dioxide is put into the shape of a small stick and inserted into an anticorrosive, irradiance-proof tube of zirconium alloy which is sealed at both ends. Thus, a fuel stick is made. A few dozen or hundreds of such fuel sticks are put together to make fuel components (or fuel modules). These fuel components are placed inside the core pipe of the reactor. A reactor may comprise hundreds of fuel components. When a nuclear powerplant goes into operation, heat energy is produced by fission reaction of the fuel at the core of the reactor. This heat energy is carried to the steam generator by the water of the first loop which flows through the core tube. The steam generator then transmits the heat to the water of the second loop, turning it into high-temperature and high-pressure steam to drive the turbine to generate electricity.

In a thermal neutron reactor, only the isotopes of uranium-235 take part in the chain reaction. They account for only 0.7 percent of the natural uranium, and the remaining 99.3 percent consists of almost nonfissionable isotopes of uranium-238. Utilization of uranium-238 is a problem attracting people's attention. Some countries have begun to solve this problem by building fast neutron breeder reactors. In a reactor of this kind, a greater number of neutrons are captured by uranium-238 and transformed into fissionable plutonium-239. It is called a breeder reactor because more fissionable materials are produced than consumed.



Key:

1. Heat is produced through fission reaction in the reactor
 2. Cold water brings the heat to the steam generator (first loop)
 3. Water turns into steam to drive the turbine (second loop)
 4. The turbine drives the generator to produce electricity
 5. Power transmission lines transmit electric power to users
 6. Waste steam is condensed through coolant—water from sea or river
 7. Water pump feeds condensed water back to the steam generator
 8. Diagram showing the operational principles of a nuclear powerplant
- a. Reactor
b. Steam generator
c. Turbine
d. Electric power generator
e. Pump

The fast neutron breeder reactor nuclear powerplants in the world at present are still at the prototype stage. Another system for breeding thorium is being studied and developed. When this reactor technology matures and is applied in a wider field, it will be possible to fully utilize the uranium resources and to increase their utilization by a few dozen times. This will be of great economic significance.

Many foreign countries are now studying the utilization of energy generated by nuclear fusion. Our country is also carrying out some basic study on a fairly large scale. The key to a fusion reaction lies in the presence of some specific conditions for a plasma, such as temperature, density and time. Two methods are being studied to create these conditions: the first is magnetic binding, by such means as the Tokamak equipment and magnetic mirror; the second is inertial binding, such as bombardment of a target by a high-power pulse laser or by a charged particle beam. Both methods have made great headway. It is expected that "ignition" can be achieved at the end of the 1980's. Some countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, have drawn up plans for building the

fusion prototype reactor around the year 2000. Deuterium, the material for a fusion reactor, can be obtained from the inexhaustible source of seawater. The invention of a fusion reactor will basically solve the problem of energy supply for mankind.

To sum up, using nuclear energy to generate electric power is a great achievement of modern science and technology. The development of the use of nuclear energy will generally cover three stages: First, the currently mature technology of the thermal neutron reactor is applied extensively in exploiting and utilizing the fission energy of uranium-235 and in further developing the advanced converter. Second, studies are carried out on the breeder reactor, and it is built to exploit and utilize the fission energy generated by uranium-238 and thorium. Third, studies are carried out on the fusion reactor, and it is built to exploit and utilize the fusion energy generated by deuterium and tritium. This shows that nuclear energy resources have great vitality and bright prospects for development.

II. The Safety and Economy of the Nuclear Powerplant

It is safe and economical to generate electric power by nuclear energy. Some people often link the nuclear powerplant with the atomic bomb and worry that a nuclear powerplant accident might result in an explosion like that of an atomic bomb. Their worries are lacking in scientific proof. A nuclear powerplant and an atomic bomb are two completely different things. The nuclear fuel of an atomic bomb is highly concentrated, with more than 90 percent uranium. An atomic bomb undergoes instantaneous chain reaction of a high concentrate of densely packed fissionable material, whereas an atomic reactor undergoes controllable chain reaction of loosely packed, dilute fissionable material. An atomic reactor is not designed for a nuclear explosion. Therefore, under no circumstances will a nuclear powerplant produce a nuclear explosion like that of an atomic bomb.

People also worry about the harm which the radioactivity of a nuclear powerplant might do to the human body. Actually, radioactivity is present everywhere man lives. Generally speaking, everyone receives from nature a dosage of radiation of about 100 millirems a year (a millirem is the unit for measuring the biological effect caused by radiation). This is chiefly caused by cosmic rays, the soil, building materials and the radioactive material in the human body. In places where the earth's crust gives out a relatively high quantity of radiation (such as India, Brazil and some localities in southern Hunan and northern Guangdong in our country), the residents receive from nature a dosage of radiation of 500-1,000 millirems a year. However, no abnormal effect done to the human body has been discovered. The residents living near an operating nuclear powerplant actually receive a radiation dosage of 1 to 2 millirems a year, which is far smaller than the radiation dosage they receive from nature.

Of course, we should be highly vigilant against the harm caused by radiation. Therefore, when a modern nuclear powerplant is designed, protective measures are taken and radiation shielding built in every possible way to prevent the leakage of radioactive material. First, the fuel core is a compact earthen container which holds 99 percent of the radioactive material. Radioactive material will not

be released as long as the core does not melt. Second, the fuel core is protected by a cladding, a pressure vessel and a safety shield so that it is leakproof. The possibility of simultaneously destroying these three protectors is negligible. There are other safety devices inside the reactor. The big and medium-sized nuclear powerplants of the world have now accumulated the experiences of more than 1,400 reactor-years of operation (a reactor-year means a year in which a reactor has been operated). They have never had an accident involving large radiation leakage and never caused injury or death among the residents in neighboring areas and among their staffs and workers.

The Three Mile Island nuclear powerplant in the United States had an accident in March 1979 because of some operational error and mechanical failure. This was a rather serious accident and was unprecedented in the history of operation of nuclear powerplants. The investigations and analyses of this accident showed that the reactor stop system, the emergency cooling system, the safety shield and other safety devices had functioned according to the design and succeeded in retaining almost all radioactive matters in the safety shield. Each of the residents living within 50 miles of the plant received an average radiation dosage of only 1.5 millirems. The commission appointed by the U.S. President to investigate this accident said in its report: "The most serious question is that many parts of the news reports on the radiation leakage and the explanations on the importance (or unimportance) of this leakage were exaggerated." After the Three Mile Island accident the antinuclear movement in the West had a new upsurge. This movement had a complicated background and was affected by various political, economic, social and psychological factors. We should analyze this background and these factors. Various countries have learned a lesson from this accident and taken steps to prevent similar accidents and run their nuclear powerplants more safely and more reliably.

A salient economic feature of the nuclear powerplant is that it requires a great investment in its capital construction but its fuel is cheap. The investment in capital construction of a foreign nuclear powerplant is 1.5 to 2 times that in a thermoelectric powerplant generating an equal quantity of power. If the investment in extraction, processing and transportation of fuel is also taken into account, the total investment in a nuclear powerplant is more or less the same as that in a thermoelectric powerplant. Moreover, in a foreign country the cost of power generated by a nuclear powerplant is 20 to 50 percent lower than that of power generated by a thermoelectric powerplant. The following table is a comparison between the costs of nuclear power and thermoelectric power per kilowatt-hour:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Nuclear power</u>	<u>Power generated by coal</u>	<u>Power generated by oil</u>	<u>Year</u>
United States (U.S. cent)	1.5	2.3	4.0	1978
France (centime)	10.4	12.6	14.1	1978
Britain (pence)	0.69	1.07	1.27	1977
Canada (Canadian cent)	1.09	1.937	---	1979
Italy (U.S. cent)	2.27	---	2.82	1976

Fuel charges account for a small proportion of the costs of a nuclear powerplant. Therefore, when fuel charges rise, a nuclear powerplant will show its economic superiority more conspicuously. For example, in Canada, when fuel charges in 1979 rose by 15 percent as against those in 1978, the increase in the cost of nuclear power was only 22 percent of that in the cost of thermoelectric power.

III. A General Account of the Development of Nuclear Power Generation in the World

The history of the development of nuclear power generation in the world can be summarized in this way: The 1950's was the initial period; the 1960's was the maturing period; and the 1970's was a period of extensive development. By the end of 1979, 22 countries and regions possessed 229 reactors which were functioning in nuclear powerplants and had a total installed capacity of 125 million kilowatts; another 301 reactors were being built or planned, and their installed capacity totaled 280 million kilowatts.

The countries where electric power is generated by nuclear energy and exceeds 10 percent of the total amount of electric power generated include the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Japan, Bulgaria and Finland. In Sweden and Belgium more than 20 percent of their electric energy is generated by nuclear power. The portion of electric power generated by nuclear energy exceeds 50 percent in several northeastern states (Maine, Vermont and Connecticut) in the United States.

What deserves attention is that it is not only the countries with few resources which are devoting major efforts to developing nuclear power generation. Countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada and Brazil, which have vast territories like China and possess rich resources of coal, petroleum, natural gas and hydroelectric power, are drawing up plans for large-scale development of nuclear power generation. (See the following table)

Nuclear Power Generation Plans of a Few Countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>Soviet Union</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Brazil</u>	<u>China</u>
Population (million)	260	220	23	110	960
Land (million sq km)	22.4	9.36	9.97	8.50	9.60
Geological reserve of coal (billion tons)	4,900	2,600	3,000	Very little	1,400
Waterpower resources (million kilowatts)	270	190	120	230	680
Utilization of waterpower resources (percent)	12	43	33	10	2.3
Nuclear power capacity in 1979 (million kilowatts)	11.5	52.0	5.5	Nil	Nil
Nuclear power development plan (million kilowatts)	125	300	17	60	?
Year in which the plan ends	(1990)	(2000)	(1990)	(2000)	—

According to data collected from all sources, the following table shows the proportion of energy from various sources that will be used worldwide by the years 2000 and 2020:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Petroleum (percent)</u>	<u>Coal (percent)</u>	<u>Natural gas (percent)</u>	<u>Nuclear energy (percent)</u>	<u>Others (percent)</u>	<u>Total (percent)</u>
1979	43	28	20	2	7	100
2000	29	28	23	10	10	100
2020	11	26	13	31	19	100

We can see from the above table that the proportion of coal will remain stable over the next 40 years. The energy shortage caused by the big decrease in the proportion of petroleum will have to be compensated for by use of nuclear energy and energy from other sources. It is estimated that by the year 2000 the world's installed capacity of nuclear power will amount to 0.8-1.0 billion kilowatts, and electric power generated by nuclear energy will exceed 30 percent of the total electric energy production. The Three Mile Island nuclear powerplant accident in the United States and the antinuclear movement in the West do not hinder the nuclear energy policies of various countries. U.S. President Carter delivered a speech on restricting nuclear power development when he ran for the presidency. After the Three Mile Island accident, however, he emphatically pointed out that coal and nuclear energy were the two main pillars of the United States' future energy resources. In 1979 the Soviet Union decided to increase its nuclear power capacity by 10 times in 10 years. Among the developing countries which devote major efforts to developing nuclear power generation are India, Romania, Spain, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. In a few words, due to the influence of economic and political factors, the world's speed of nuclear power development may vary from time to time, but generally it will not decrease.

IV. The Necessity and Possibility of Developing Nuclear Power Generation in Our Country

1. Developing nuclear power generation is the best way to solve the problem of uneven distribution of resources.

Our country has very rich coal and waterpower resources. However, they are distributed unevenly. Over 60 percent of the coal resources are distributed in north China, and over 70 percent of the waterpower resources are in southwest China. An energy shortage is felt in eight provinces and one municipality in the south where industries thrive and which have a large population. Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Jiangxi provinces and Shanghai Municipality are inhabited by 36.5 percent of the country's population but possess only 2 percent of the country's coal resources and only 10 percent of its waterpower resources. To regulate supply and demand of energy in various parts of the country, 43 percent of the country's railroad transport capacity and 47 percent of the water transport capacity of the Ministry of Communications are devoted to transportation of coal and petroleum. In light of the distribution of fossil fuels in our country, this problem will become more and more conspicuous as the four modernizations make progress. Nuclear power generation involves a small

freight volume and can be carried out flexibly in different areas, so that developing nuclear power generation is the best way to solve this problem.

As far as rational utilization of natural resources is concerned, it is possible to save fossil fuels by developing nuclear power generation. Coal, petroleum and natural gas are valuable industrial chemicals for making synthetic fiber, synthetic rubber, plastics, dyestuffs and medicine. It is a waste to burn them away as fuel. Uranium is used only for making nuclear weapons and as nuclear fuel and not for any other important purposes. Major efforts should be devoted to utilizing nuclear energy in order to save fossil fuels, prolong the duration of their use as much as possible and leave some natural resources behind to our future generations.

2. Our country has the basic conditions for developing nuclear power generation.

Uranium reserves: It has been verified that the exploitable geological storage of uranium is enough to meet the needs of national defense and scientific research and to develop nuclear power generation on a considerably large scale for a few decades. Therefore, our country has better conditions than many other countries for starting nuclear power generation. Geological survey has not been conducted in many parts of our country. Prospecting and drilling were not conducted to a great depth, and geological work was confined to a narrow scope. Therefore, China has great potential resources of uranium.

Manpower: China has a contingent of a large size and a high technical level for studying and designing the reactor. The majority of the members of this contingent are engineers above 40 years of age, are technically proficient and have rich experiences to draw on.

Scientific base: In the base areas for studying and designing the reactor there is a very large number of experimental reactors, particle accelerators, hot cells, return circuit experimental setups and other experimental devices.

Industrial base: China has established a small-scale but rather complete system for its nuclear fuels industry. It has also mastered the major techniques regarding the reprocessing of fuels, separation of uranium isotopes and production of heavy water. The departments concerned can supply heavy water, graphite, aluminum, zirconium, stainless steel and other special materials of fine quality. Our country also has great ability to construct reactor facilities.

To sum up, it is necessary and possible for our country to develop nuclear power generation. Therefore, we have the following several proposals to make:

1. Exploiting and utilizing nuclear energy is an important way to solve the energy problem in our country. Nuclear energy should be included in our country's energy plan and developed to a considerably great extent by the end of this century.

2. In our country, nuclear power generation is developed chiefly for the purpose of solving the problem of uneven distribution of energy resources. Nuclear power-plants should be built in areas where coal and waterpower resources are scarce.

3. In developing nuclear power generation we should adhere to the policy of "taking self-reliance as the key link and foreign aid as a supplement" and draw up a plan for developing nuclear power generation according to our capabilities. We should not underestimate our own capabilities and rely on foreign aid. Meanwhile, we should not neglect our favorable conditions. We should actively bring in advanced foreign technologies.

4. Our country started later than many other countries in developing nuclear power generation. We should firmly grasp scientific and engineering studies. In handling the construction of nuclear powerplants in the near future we should do a good job of designing and building nuclear powerplants equipped with experimental prototype reactors, so as to master the technology, train qualified personnel and accumulate experience. This also creates favorable conditions for us to learn and master foreign technologies. While building breeder reactors and nuclear fusion powerplants, we should strengthen basic studies and applied studies and actively participate in international cooperative projects, so as to quicken our pace in developing nuclear power generation.

5. The construction of nuclear powerplants requires a long period of time and the efforts of many departments. Therefore, we should take early action to do the work in all fields and should not drag out the discussions. Under the unified leadership of the central authorities, various departments should clearly divide the work among themselves and closely cooperate with one another in accomplishing this task, so that nuclear energy can play a splendid role in our country's four modernizations.

(This article is a lecture delivered by Prof Wang Ganchang to the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee and has been revised by the authors--RED FLAG editor)

CSO: 4004

LEADING CADRES MUST STUDY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 p 48

[Ideological commentary by Zhang Ming [1728 2494]]

[Text] Since the National Conference on Science, many leading cadres have responded to the call of the party Central Committee to attach importance to scientific and technological knowledge. A large number of leading cadres who used to be nonprofessionals have managed to acquire professional knowledge. This is a heartening phenomenon. However, there are still many leading cadres in various departments and units who do not have an adequate understanding of the indispensability and urgency of studying science and technology. They say that "distant water cannot quench present thirst. It does not matter too much whether one studies or not." This view is very wrong. It must be earnestly corrected.

The continuous rapid development of modern science and technology is permeating every facet of social life. It is playing an increasingly important role in the development of material and spiritual civilization. Advanced science and technology is indispensable for our achievement of the four modernizations. Therefore, comrades who are charged with various leadership responsibilities must attach great importance to the study of science and technology. Over the past few decades, because of the frequent occurrence of political campaigns and the influence of erroneous ideas and practices, such as the theory that "nonprofessionals leading professionals is a general rule," some comrades who wanted to strive to become professionals in their work were powerless to do so. They did not have a chance to really devote efforts to study. An even greater number of comrades were content to be "uncouth fellows" forever. They were proud of being nonprofessional. We did not vigorously advocate the study of science and technology. Nor did we earnestly organize the cadres to engage in such study. This was a great mistake in our work. It has already brought about great difficulties in the building of the four modernizations. Today, now that the work focus of the whole party has turned to the building of the four modernizations, this situation must not be allowed to continue. Facts have shown that a country with a great number of people who are "blind to science" and occupy leadership organs at all levels will never be able to build modernization. Leading cadres at all levels must have a basic understanding of the necessity and urgency of studying scientific and technological knowledge in order to measure up to the requirement of the building of the four modernizations and do leadership work well.

Leading cadres' study of science and technology must not only be regular but must also be institutionalized. For a long time our cadre system has had serious defects. We had no system of evaluation and election, and the "iron rice bowl" and life tenure systems were in practice. During this new historical period we must have a new cadre system and a new set of criteria for recruitment. The promotion and appointment of cadres must go through a process of serious evaluation wherein important consideration will be given to how well they study. We must effectively select and promote those comrades who study well, who are good at learning, who continuously improve their working ability and whose work efficiency is outstanding.

Science is a useful branch of knowledge and is developing rapidly day by day. Every comrade who is in charge of leadership work at various levels, no matter what level of cultural and scientific knowledge he previously had, must exert efforts to study hard. Comrades who have a low educational level must find time from work to exert real efforts in studying. Even those comrades who are well educated must not think that the call for leading cadres to study science and technology pertains only to others and not to them. They must realize that a new cycle in modern scientific and technological knowledge is becoming shorter and shorter. People who had some professional knowledge previously might not be able to keep abreast of developments if they do not continue to study.

Comrades of the Central Committee have set a good example for leading cadres at all levels and people of the whole country by inviting scientists to give lectures. If leading comrades of the Central Committee can persist in studying with their heavy workload, all the more should other leading comrades at all levels seize the time and study tirelessly in order to strive to become professionals in the sectors and departments where they work and to mobilize the broad masses of cadres and people to study modern science and technology by their own actions. This will accelerate the pace of our country's building of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

THE MASSES CAN BECOME 'COMMENTATORS'--AN OBJECTION TO THE ARTICLE "'IDLE TALK' SHOULD NOT BE ENCOURAGED'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 p 49

[Article by Yu Biying [0151 3880 5391] of the Guizhou organic chemical plant]

[Text] In my opinion, Comrade Xue Ming's short article "'Idle Talk' Should Not Be Encouraged," carried by RED FLAG No 17, holds a rather biased view. I want to discuss it with him.

First, he regards the "emotional" opinions of the "self-styled" "commentators," the "empty talk and big talk which are pointless and useless," the "nauseating complaints directed against everyone and anything but oneself" and the "impassioned language" heard in "conference rooms, offices and dormitories and appearing in newspapers and other publications," as "idle talk" and as improper. At present our country is in a period of reform. It is beyond reproach for the masses to comment on some new things and to air their views on and even show their dissatisfaction with the difficulties which they see in carrying out the reform. The "impassioned language" appearing in newspapers and other publications should not be negated indiscriminately.

Second, in his article Comrade Xue Ming has inappropriately likened the comments which some comrades have made on certain problems to the idle talk which was a common practice among some philosophers and the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" during the Wei and Jin dynasties. Today's comments have absolutely nothing to do with the "idle talk" of olden times as far as their cause, purpose, pattern and role are concerned. In addition, the question of whether the "idle talk" caused the weakening and corruption of the country or the country's weakening and corruption engendered the "idle talk" during the Wei and Jin dynasties is a topic for study.

Third, it is entirely correct to advocate "starting with me right now." But this does not mean that "I should not comment on other persons and matters and on the past and the future." In his article Comrade Xue Ming suggests that "one should be a laborer and not an 'idle talker.'" Does he mean to say that the people's bounden duty is to labor and that they are allowed only to "talk about the work of their own units and the work for themselves" and are not allowed to talk about the work of other people and other units and the affairs of the state and the world? Is he correct in saying so?

Fourth, I certainly do not mean that one should idle about and just talk the whole day. I oppose all the more the "empty talk and big talk which is pointless and useless." Comrade Xue Ming begins his article by saying: "The practice of 'idle talk' has been prevalent and 'commentators' have been numerous over the past few years. Their tune is high-pitched and emotional." In my opinion, there are signs of "idle talk," but it is exaggerating to say that such "idle talk" has become a "practice" and is "prevalent." These "commentators" have been "numerous," but this is a good sign which should cause no alarm or worry. People are willing to comment on the affairs in our country today. This shows that they have confidence in the future of our country. The people are fully entitled and qualified to be such "commentators." In my humble opinion, these "commentators" may have spoken in a high-pitched tune and held extreme views, but they are far from "damaging national interests." However, there is one reason for anxiety: Those who cling to their feudal ideas and work styles, those who are incompatible with socialist democracy and those who have refused to understand and carry out the series of reform measures adopted by the party and the state over the past few years--they are the objects discussed by the "commentators"--are really "damaging national interests" if they do not readily discard the old and accept the new.

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MORNING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Wang Wei [2769 3555]]



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